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ABSTRACT

This document is a history of the founding, growth, and struggle for independence of Universidad Popular, a successful adult education center in Chicago. The story focuses on the struggle between a multi-campus, community college system and a local community wanting to assume responsibility for its own adult education. It follows the struggle through its nine year history (1972-1981) and ends with the final split that gave the community center independence at a cost of more than \$250,000 in annual public funding. According to the history, the center today operates a program that simultaneously provides adult literacy and general education together with political, economic, and cultural empowerment. The history states that, in the struggle for the center's independence, the colleges were adversaries of learners seeking and attaining control over their lives and their communities. It describes factors that it says mitigate against our nation's efforts to eliminate illiteracy and that, in part, account for the failures of public education. The report is indexed by names and by historical materials relating to Universidad Popular. (KC)

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STRUGGLE

THE STORY OF UNIVERSIDAD POPULAR

Thomas W. Heaney

Chicago, 1968

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STRUGGLING TO BE FREE:
THE STORY OF UNIVERSIDAD POPULAR

Thomas W. Heaney
Northern Illinois University
November 1983

INTRODUCTION	1
BEGINNINGS: 1972-1975	4
The Issue: Community-Control	5
A Difficult Pattern Is Set	6
How It Began	6
Institutional Resistance	8
Redefining a Partnership	9
Staff and Board Tensions	10
Staff Reorganization	11
Centro Latino	13
Despite Everything, It Works	15
Education for Empowerment	16
Woodstock	17
Growing Frustrations	19
Into the Lion's Mouth	20
TRANSITION: 1976-1977	23
Teachers Say No	24
The New Universidad Popular	25
PART TWO: NEW BEGINNINGS: 1978-1981	27
An Evaluation	28
A Bid for Independence	28
Two Organizations: Double Trouble	29
The Program: Variety and Expansion	31
Changes and Shifts	32
Conflict Within	33
The Attack Begins	35
Confronting Power	36
The Long Search	38
Separate Paths	41
Merger and New Directions	43
Epilogue	45
INDEX OF NAMES	46
INDEX TO HISTORICAL MATERIALS.	48

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INTRODUCTION

Housed in a narrow storefront on Belmont Avenue, sandwiched between a taco restaurant and a health clinic, is one of Chicago's most successful adult education centers. The center survived nine tumultuous years of struggle between the Hispanic community and the City Colleges of Chicago. The issue over which they fought was community control. This is the story of that struggle--a history which exemplifies both the best and the worst in higher education's potential for serving low income communities.

In 1972 Aimee Horton and Tom Heaney, both on the faculty of the Office of Adult Education at Loop College, worked with several Lakeview neighborhood organizations to establish an adult basic education center. Aimee and Tom had recently become acquainted with the work of Paulo Freire, a South American adult educator visiting the United States at the invitation of Harvard University. Freire had demonstrated in his work in Brazil and Chile that illiterate peasants could quickly learn to read and write, if the words they learned were charged with political significance and if literacy was accompanied by land reform and other improvements in economic and political conditions. In other words, adult basic education could best succeed when it was consciously a political act, the aim of which was to liberate as well as educate. Until 1970 Freire's work had been relatively unknown to Americans, but already numerous community-based groups were adapting his "pedagogy of the oppressed" to North American cities. It was this pedagogy, linking learning to social change, which Aimee and Tom brought to the early planning of the Lakeview center--this and Aimee's many years of experience with the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee which has, since the 1930s, used education to fight the oppression of workers and Blacks in Appalachia. These concepts were new to the community, but were quickly woven into the fabric of the newly planned center.

This early involvement of Loop College's Office of Adult Education represented the best of higher education's potential. The Office soon grew to become the Center for Continuing Education and Community Service. Its mission was to work with and on behalf of those groups least served by the community colleges. Its staff had a great deal of flexibility in dealing with emerging problems of the city and could, with modest resources, quickly organize workshops and even start projects, such as the Lakeview center. Knowledge and human resources were "on tap," rather than on top of the community's initiatives. The college and the community entered into a collegial relationship with astounding results previously unachieved by either college or community alone.

But with funding, the relationship could quickly turn sour, as this story details. The college could become not only a source of knowledge and human resources, but a conduit for federal and state funds as well. Thereafter, a project, no matter how grounded in the local community, is at risk of becoming economically dependent. The results can be disastrous. The issue is seldom accountability, but rather ownership and control. The holder of the purse is inclined to dictate policy, determine

priorities, and manage staff, even when all evidence suggests that local, community-based initiatives to provide adult basic education are more likely to succeed than the homogeneous schooling of large institutions. In fact, the decision of large institutions to control local initiatives is not an educational decision which seeks the maximum benefit for learners, but rather an administrative decision which serves to protect the bureaucratic organization of the college or university. While the Office of Adult Education remained committed to local control, the philosophy of that Office was in frequent conflict with the dominant philosophy of the City Colleges as a whole. The result was a tension which grew in direct proportion to the amount of money at stake.

This story focuses on one struggle between a multi-campus, community college system and a local community wanting to assume responsibility for its own adult education. The story is a story of birth, and so, in a sense, the narrative ends at the beginning. It follows the struggle through its nine year history and ends with the final split which gave the community center independence at a cost of more than \$250,000 in annual public funding. However, the story does not end there.

In three years of independence, the center has reestablished a financial base equal to the funding it lost. A committed staff, many of whom were once students at the center, have for the first time created the comprehensive program which was described in the earliest proposals for the center--a program which simultaneously provides adult literacy and general education together with political, economic, and cultural empowerment. The goals of this center are broadly developmental, stressing the impact which adult learning should have on the material conditions of the community. Those conditions include high unemployment, below standard housing, gentrification in the guise of neighborhood renewal, severe poverty, and a high rate of illiteracy. In addition, linguistic and cultural differences present barriers to communication with school officials, health providers, police, immigration, and other public officials.

There is another story--in many ways a more interesting story--being written in the lives of the adult students and teachers who each day are discovering new solutions to these conditions of oppression, who are developing a model for progressive and liberatory education in the United States, and who are doing this without, and frequently despite, the intervention of mainstream college faculty and adult educators. Higher educational institutions could play a supportive role in this unfolding story. If they choose to do so, their role is likely to be a minor one. Political alliances with powerful interests make it unlikely that resources of the college or university will be placed at the disposal of impoverished and disenfranchised groups to the same extent that they have been lavished on governmental and business interests.

Unfortunately in the story that follows, the colleges were clearly adversaries of learners seeking and attaining control over their lives and their communities. While this might be attributed, in part, to the climate of Chicago politics which strongly influenced decisions in its community college system,

similar stories have been told in other cities.

While the focus of this story is limited, it nonetheless reveals those factors which mitigate against our nation's efforts to eliminate illiteracy and which, in part, account for the failures of public education. It is, therefore, written for those who seek cooperation between higher education and community-based groups in order to call their attention to the importance of local initiative and community control.

BEGINNINGS: 1972-1975

Nothing rallies a community like a good fight. Lakeview's first effort at adult basic education was no exception. Over two hundred Mexican, Latin American, and Puerto Rican adults met with local politicians and representatives of the press in the auditorium of the Chicago Bible College. They were there to confront Oscar Shabat, chancellor of the City Colleges of Chicago. It was August 24th, 1972, just four months after the opening of a small adult education center in Lakeview's Hispanic community. To the chancellor, this center was just another "outpost" of the City Colleges--a project site he knew as Centro Educacional para Adultos de Lakeview. But the community considered this center to be its own; it had demanded the center, participated in its design, selected the staff, provided rent-free space in the Bible College, and nurtured the fledgling program through its first tumultuous months. The community gave the program a name that better reflected its base: Universidad Popular, the "people's university."

Universidad Popular was about to lose its independence, as the City Colleges consolidated all adult basic education into the recently formed Chicago Skills Center. Remedial education classes for adults had sprung up throughout the city in most of the six City College campuses. These remedial classes had the same potential to generate state revenues as did regular college-level courses, and obviously the costs were far less than the costs of academic courses taught by highly paid faculty. By increasing the number of remedial classes and lowering their costs millions of dollars in state revenues could be generated, allowing the City Colleges to subsidize other, more costly programs. The Chicago Skills Center lowered costs by centralizing administration and creating an army of part-time teachers who were excluded from union membership, denied benefits, and paid the lowest wages paid to teachers in the state. The public reason given for centralization, however, was that efficiency would be improved and far more adults would benefit than under the previously decentralized and sporadic efforts of local campuses. The problem was that the centralized, low cost program didn't work. That's why the community planned Universidad Popular. They had worked with the Center for Continuing Education at Loop College to develop that plan. Only a few months earlier, their plan had been approved by the Illinois Junior College Board as an alternative to the homogeneous "skills program" into which it was now to be merged by order of the chancellor.

And so a meeting with the chancellor was demanded by the a newly formed community advisory board. The meeting was well orchestrated, under the direction of board chairperson, Rev. Fines Flores, a gentle but determined community leader and pastor of Christian Fellowship Church. The chancellor and his entourage of underlings were astounded by the outpouring of community interest in a four-month old, adult education program. This alone signaled the uniqueness of Universidad Popular among other public-supported programs for which recruitment and retention were perennial problems. Rev. Flores tightly controlled the agenda, allowing students as well as community leaders ample time

to voice their concerns before the administrators from downtown were given the floor. A demand was formally presented to the chancellor: "The Project should be restored to Loop College. . . (and) expenditure of funds should be jointly requested and approved by the Universidad Popular and by the Center for Continuing Education." The only remaining item on the agenda was the chancellor's response.

Oscar Shabat could be a formidable adversary. But on occasions such as this he was never upstaged, nor would he allow himself to be cast in the role of villain. He preferred the role of munificent, albeit patronizing benefactor. He appeared to give more than was asked of him, while never letting go of the relationship of dependency which tied "his" programs to him. When he responded to the community's demand, he projected the image of a man totally in control of a multi-campus community college system with over 60,000 students, yet totally sympathetic to the voices of the barrio. He was impatient with the short-sightedness of project directors, deans, college presidents and vice-chancellors he brought in tow whose muddle-headedness seemed always to necessitate his intervention. He appeared to concede to demands presented during the meeting, guaranteed that he would be guided by the decisions of the community advisory board, and promised to find additional funding for the program. He used a ploy common among politicians. He observed the direction in which the people were moving, then ran to the front to be seen marching in the same direction. The ploy was effective. He was acclaimed the champion of the community, having inspired confidence that he would wholeheartedly support community-control of Universidad Popular.

The Issue: Community-Control

The issue was community-control versus efficiency in a highly centralized and bureaucratically administered, city-wide, adult education system. Chicago, like other major cities throughout the country, has an alarming number of illiterate adults, adults who cannot understand or speak English, who cannot read, or who have completed less than a high school education. This "market," coupled with considerable state and federal funding for adult basic education, has led community colleges and school districts to move their adult programs to center stage. Unfortunately, many community-based programs have been stifled by the superimposed anonymity of large systems and the rigidity of formal schooling.

In discussions of this issue, arguments tended to pass each other like ships in the night. Efficiency in management terms does not necessarily yield efficiency in educational terms. Adults, especially adults with little experience of the rigors and demands of schooling, frequently learn best when learning is linked with the goals and aspirations of the community to which they belong. Given the rich diversity of Chicago's racial and ethnic communities, centralization was bound to run roughshod over local initiatives.

The Universidad had already sacrificed some autonomy in that its funds were administered through Loop College's Center for

Continuing Education, Loop being one of the campuses of the City Colleges of Chicago. No formal plans or organizational structure had been made for local control, although the staff of the Loop Center had been committed to local control in concept from the beginning. The absence of a local governing plan and the impending threat of absorption within the Chicago Skills Center led Universidad staff, students, and community representatives to prefer an administrative link with the Center at Loop College rather than further risk their independence with the Chicago Skills Center.

A Difficult Pattern Is Set

Unfortunately, this first meeting with the chancellor set the pattern for the next nine years. Crises, generally induced by the often mindless demands of bureaucrats, required yearly community-wide meetings. Resolution of these crises was always reserved to the chancellor who would intervene, but leave unchanged policies and procedures which inevitably led to further conflict. On the one hand, these recurrent meetings between the community and the highest level of college administration surrounded Universidad Popular with an aura of importance and coalesced the energies of community, giving it a focus--on a common enemy. Frequent challenges maintained the momentum and enthusiasm of staff, students, and community which, if all were to have progressed smoothly, might otherwise have been lost. On the other hand, resolution by external, administrative fiat tended to increase dependency on Oscar Snabat, and divert energy that might have been better directed to obtaining alternate sources of funding. The ongoing struggle left both staff and community board members exhausted, while the settlement of each crisis took a growing toll in ill will created among lessor administrators in the City Colleges whose decisions were constantly being reversed by the chancellor.

How It Began

It is difficult to say when Universidad Popular began. Several organizations contributed to its beginnings, and a variety of adult education classes had already begun long before the concept of a "center" had developed. An educational philosophy and purpose began to emerge from these independent initiatives. Education, to be effective, must be linked to the community; it must address the community's problems as well as incorporate the community's resources. Education is too important to be left to experts.

The Latin American Coalition of Lakeview was a grass roots organization comprising four separate agencies serving the Hispanic community. Its purpose was to move beyond services to individuals by directly empowering the community through organization around critical issues. Education was a major area of concern. For the previous two years, the Coalition had invested considerable volunteer hours in English classes for Spanish-speaking adults. The classes were offered at Mount Carmel and St. Sebastian's Church, both Roman Catholic parishes with under-

used classroom facilities.

Jane Addams Hull House Center, a Lakeview-based offshoot of Chicago's famous settlement house founded by Jane Addams, opened an office for the community's Latino residents in 1967. The office was called *Una Puerta Abierta*, "an open door." In an effort to combat mounting unemployment, counselors at *Una Puerta Abierta* discovered that 481 out of 507 adults seeking employment during 1970 spoke little or no English and three-quarters of these adults had less than a high school education. In 1970-71, under a grant from the Junior League of Chicago, the Jane Addams Center began a small-scale pilot project to teach basic English. The project was neighborhood-based, with a variety of informal classes designed to allay common fears of formal schooling. Some of the project's part-time teachers were paid by the Chicago Board of Education, others were volunteers. By 1971, Hull House staff had learned that financial support from the Board of Education was soon to be discontinued. State revenues for this purpose were being transferred to the newly formed Chicago Skills Center. Henceforth, almost all adult basic education funds in the city would be administered by the City Colleges of Chicago.

Since 1969, the Office of Adult Education (later the Center for Continuing Education) at Loop College sought to link adult basic education with the social and political aims of poor communities. Preparatory classes for the General Educational Development (GED) examination were offered at a Roman Catholic parish in Kenwood. The classes drew on resources of the nearby Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization and built curriculum around Civil Rights issues. Other workshops applying resources of the city to concerns and problems identified by local groups had been organized in a number of Hispanic neighborhoods. These included workshops on political, social, and economic issues identified by the community. A series entitled Nuestra Comunidad: Nuestros Problemas y Derechos, "Our Community: Our Problems and Our Rights," had been offered at the *Una Puerta Abierta* offices. Aimee Horton, the Center's director had known most of the community leaders in Lakeview and encouraged them to link their concerns for literacy and basic education with their broader agenda for social change. She agreed to help them develop a proposal for state adult education funds through the City Colleges.

The resulting proposal combined both the strengths and weaknesses of each participating organization. The Coalition provided the basis for grounding education in the experiences and aspirations of the people. It was both a source of knowledge and information about the community and an instrument for social change, so that learning could lead to effective action. At the same time, the Coalition urged its own agenda: the development of a multi-service center, only one component of which was *Universidad Popular*. This agenda, as we will see, diverted staff and board attention from developing a firm pedagogical base during the critical early years of the project.

Jane Addams Hull House contributed financially to the project. During the first two years, an administrator of *Universidad Popular* met weekly with Hull House staff and learned from their considerable experience in building programs with neighborhood resources. But Hull House also imposed a service orienta-

tion which emphasized symptoms, but not the political and economic roots of poverty, discrimination, and unemployment.

The Center for Continuing Education contributed a pedagogy linking learning to social and political change--a pedagogy developed with the help of Black and Hispanic communities throughout the city, residents of public housing, older adults, rank and file workers, and other groups generally ignored by higher education. As part of the City Colleges, the Center also brought with it the crippling demands of procedures and red tape which characterized the infrastructure of the multi-campus, city-wide system. All the ingredients for success were present in Universidad Popular; so also were the seeds of failure.

Institutional Resistance

Members of the Coalition and Hull House knew and trusted Aimee Horton and the Center she had begun at Loop College. It had been assumed that the vast college system to which the Center belonged would remain in the background. This was, unfortunately, not the case. The policy requiring the central administration of all adult basic education and English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) funds became effective at the beginning of 1972. Henceforth, the Chicago Skills Center played a major role in writing the history of Universidad Popular. The grant which established Universidad Popular was given to an administrative unit which knew nothing of the proposal or the community. The Center at Loop continued to work unofficially with Universidad Popular as the latter made preparations to hire a staff and get started, but the ability of Center staff to effectively defend local initiatives against institutional bureaucracy was now in question.

During the planning phase of the project it had been agreed that the center would be staffed by a director and two full-time teachers. Men and women from numerous Latin American countries and from the United States applied. The committee resisted Aimee's suggestion that a woman be considered for at least one of the positions. Among the applicants for director were three men: a young Puerto Rican and a Mexican American, Miguel Velasquez and Ken Del Valle respectively, and an "Anglo" who had worked for a number of years in impoverished areas of Peru, Gregory Rienzo. Their ethnic mix well matched the diverse population of Lakeview--at least the male population--, so the committee made all three "directors." They divided job responsibilities into three major areas (administration, education, and community action) and proposed a collegial model of decision-making that quickly provoked resistance from administrators in the central offices of the City Colleges. The bureaucracy needed "a man in charge"--someone to hold accountable when things went wrong.

This interference with a local decision was the first in a long chain of thoughtless opposition to community initiatives. Frequently local decisions were appropriate to a neighborhood-scaled program, but were inconsistent with the large corporate structure of the City Colleges. Eventually, the screening committee ceded to the demands of the City Colleges. They agreed to give one of the three staff members the title of "director," but

staff decisions were still to be made collegially. Power and wages were to remain equal, even if the titles did not. Miguel became the titular director. Ken was named "educational coordinator," and Greg--who alone of the three was familiar with the pedagogy and work of Paulo Freire--became the project's first "community coordinator."

Redefining a Partnership

From the start, the key role played by the community in this project set it apart from all other basic education programs affiliated with the City Colleges. Staff was jointly selected by the Coalition, Hull House, and the Center at Loop College. In theory, ownership of the program was distributed among the three participating organizations. In practice, however, an equal partnership was difficult to maintain once the project was funded, since more than 90% of the funds were held by the City Colleges.

Funding for the project came quickly, before many of the details for the operation of the center had been planned. The task of selecting staff and the subsequent struggle to develop an organization which best utilized the talents of that staff occupied considerable time. There had been little time remaining for the community to reflect on just how this project was to be different from hundreds of other basic education programs across the city--apart from a shared conviction that Universidad Popular was a project of the community. That conviction was not shared by everyone in the City Colleges. Opposition from a few City College administrators to some of the community's early decisions, placed the "partnership" in a new perspective from the very beginning.

The City Colleges were a complex institution, not conducive to building trust among the poor. On the one hand, staff of the Center for Continuing Education at Loop College consistently supported decisions of the community and had proven a strong advocate in negotiations with both the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, from which funding was obtained, and with the Chicago Skills Center, through which funds were administered. On the other hand, the multi-campus system of which the Center for Continuing Education was a part had many other administrative units, none of which seemed able to cooperate with groups wishing to influence and shape local programs. From the time that the Skills Center had been created, efficiency was purchased at the cost of diversity. There was simply no room for the variations which local-control would have introduced into the Skills Center's program. Since all funds from the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction were, by City College policy, administered by the Skills Center, the fox appeared to be permanently housed in the hen house and given fiscal--which is to say ultimate--responsibility for programs like Universidad Popular.

Finding itself in a less-than-equal partnership with an anonymous and powerful institution, the Coalition wisely decided to create a more permanent, community-based board to oversee the project and serve as the voice of the people. While such a board

had not been projected in the proposal, it was obvious to all that such a visible and vocal instrument was necessary, both for influencing the City Colleges, as well as for implementing and overseeing a program to which some City College administrators were less than committed. The Coalition appointed the Universidad's first board of directors primarily comprising community residents, but including ex officio representatives of the Coalition, the Center for Continuing Education, and Hull House; thereafter the board was to establish its own by-laws and become self-perpetuating. The board called itself La Junta Directiva, or simply the Junta. But the authority of the Junta was unclear from the start. What was the Junta to govern? Its role in relation to most decisions was, at best, advisory to others who controlled the Universidad's funds. The Junta could make demands of staff, but could not provide guarantees or, ultimately, command the staff's respect.

Staff and Board Tensions

In the coming months, the forced compromise which resulted in the naming of one staff member as director left too many questions of authority and responsibility unresolved. Furthermore, it had been assumed that persons selected for strong leadership abilities could, without additional preparation, readily adapt themselves to collegial organization. Gregory Rienzo was the only staff member with experience in team leadership. Miguel Velasquez was determined to be director in fact as well as in title. Tensions developed among the staff and the ambiguity of coequal staff roles placed a greater burden on the Junta to become involved in day-to-day decisions. This unanticipated burden was not borne willingly, and frequently was not borne at all. Staff became angry and frustrated with the Junta's seeming lack of involvement, while the Junta responded with authoritarian demands which returned blame to the staff for the center's problems.

Loose organization and the lack of clearly defined expectations placed undue demands on an overworked staff. Ken Del Valle, whose commitment and involvement in the project was questioned by his coworkers, remained less than a year; he resigned at the end of 1972 and was replaced by Martha Gonzales the following February. Additional frictions developed between Miguel Velasquez and the other staff--frictions that eventually led to an announcement of Miguel's resignation later that year. Students and other part-time teaching staff often found themselves caught in the middle as pressure mounted to take sides in intra-staff hostilities.

These tensions and resentments among the staff were paralleled within the board of directors, where some members took sides in staff conflicts. At times, staff disputes were merely symptoms of differences in the Junta itself. Most of the Coalition's appointees to the Junta were inexperienced as board members. Few had been part of the early planning that led to the proposal for Universidad Popular. Rather than resolving staff disputes and moving quickly to remedy the organizational problems that had created them, the Junta frequently added to staff ten-

sions.

For example, several Junta members wanted only Hispanics involved in Universidad Popular. Their distrust of "Anglos," fed in part by the stonewalling attempts of City College administrators to control Universidad Popular, was extended to Junta and staff alike. Three of the original fifteen board members were non-Hispanic: a Catholic priest, and representatives of the Lakeview Citizen's Council and the Center for Continuing Education at Loop College. One staff member, Greg Rienzo, was also white. As a result, disputes which had their origins in undefined role expectations or a lack of clarity about the nature of the program were frequently given racist overtones which made resolution of conflicts difficult, if not impossible. Reflection on the philosophical and class roots of staff and board conflict was inhibited by overemphasizing Brown-White differences. In addition, conflict among various national groups within the Hispanic community had long been encouraged in Chicago as a means of keeping ethnic groups divided and thus powerless. This division further complicated staff relations, since criticism of Miguel Velasquez was perceived by some as a reaction of Mexicans to Puerto Rican leadership.

Staff Reorganization

By June 1973, growing resentment of Miguel's tendency to arrogate all decisions to himself eventually led the Junta to give serious attention to staff reorganization. Some felt that Miguel should be given the full authority of an executive director; others wanted to return to the Junta's initial plan: co-equal staff with clearly defined areas of responsibility. The latter plan was supported by Rienzo and Gonzales, but rejected by Velasquez who believed that strong, centralized control was needed to bring order to the chaos threatening to destroy the project. After intense debate, personalized by increasing criticism of Miguel's governance, the plan calling for team leadership was adopted by the full Junta in August. During the course of debate, Miguel's resignation was announced. Full-time staff now comprised three coordinators whose functions, responsibilities, and qualifications were described in considerable detail--and the City Colleges' demand for a "director" be damned.

Since July, Greg Rienzo had been absent on a three months leave while enrolled in a training program of the Industrial Areas Foundation, a school for organizers founded by Saul Alinski. During his absence, Klaus Rehbein, a friend of Miguel Velasquez, was hired as a temporary replacement. Miguel's not-so-hidden agenda was that Klaus would become familiar with the program and thus be the likely candidate to assume Miguel's position when his resignation became effective in September. Interviews with applicants for the position were extended through October. So was Rehbein's employment, now as a part-time teacher since Rienzo had returned. Rehbein was one of eleven candidates under consideration by the Junta's screening committee.

Given Klaus Rehbein's interest in long term employment, he had used his time at Universidad Popular wisely. He organized a small but vocal group of students and several members of the

Junta to join with Miguel Velasquez in supporting his candidacy. Throughout his brief tenure at Universidad Popular, Klaus Rehbein had also led a singularly vituperative campaign to remove Martha Gonzales from the staff, placing additional wear on the already frayed relations among staff, students, and Junta. The issue was unclear. Klaus claimed that Martha was "chronically tardy," while others claimed the conflict resulted from Klaus' inability to work collegially with a woman. In the heat of Rehbein's attempts to discredit Gonzales, the Junta appointed her acting director while the search continued for Velasquez' successor. Most Junta members rejected Klaus' candidacy from the beginning as an attempt on the part of Miguel to appoint his own successor and to continue his influence on the program. In fact, Miguel had requested that his employment be continued on a part-time basis while he attended law school. The Junta rejected this request. During the early months of 1973, Miguel had lost the trust of a majority on the Junta because of his seeming disregard of the board's authority and his unwillingness to work collaboratively with other members of the staff. Miguel's realization that he had lost Junta support was a major factor in his decision to resign.

After a three month search, Thomas Langdon was chosen to be the new administrative coordinator. Langdon was a former priest with impressive credentials and several years' experience in Latin America. He had an exceptional educational and experiential background in administration and diplomacy, both now considered essential qualifications for a staff member at the beleaguered center. Langdon was also an "Anglo," one of two in a three-member administrative team. His selection as Miguel's successor added fuel to the flames of racist charges being fanned by supporters of Klaus Rehbein, who saw in the Junta's failure to appoint Rehbein a further indication that Universidad Popular was not a program of, by and for Latinos.

Tom Langdon found himself caught in the crossfire during his first days at Universidad Popular. A frenzy of protest unleashed by the Rehbein supporters forced the cancellation of classes for more than a week. Not until November 11th could classes resume, only after Klaus Rehbein, who until then continued as a part-time teacher, had been fired by Junta chair, Finees Flores. Junta members found it necessary to 'occupy' the center for several days to prevent further disruption of classes.

All of which is to say, the Universidad Popular began as a program under siege. Within weeks of its birth, local decisions were being preempted by the City Colleges. Mounting tensions within were the result of a hastily conceived compromise in staff organization. The board of directors, lacking fiscal authority, had to fight those who held the purse strings for every decision. The time and energy which these fights demanded led to interminable delays in resolving even simple day-to-day problems. In addition, the Junta increasingly tended to put off these time-consuming battles until crises made the fight essential. Time needed for reflection, evaluation, and planning quickly gave way to meeting day-to-day challenges. Finding suitable facilities--a task that continues until the present--consumed weeks of staff time with far less than satisfactory results. Although the

proposal called for full-time staff, City College policy required basic education teachers to work a maximum of twelve hours a week and based wages on the number of contact hours in the classroom. Obviously, a program that linked learning to the activities of neighborhood organizations could not sequester its staff or students in the classroom. So even the most fundamental tenets of the proposal had to be renegotiated with City College policy makers after funding had been approved.

Tom Langdon began at once to remedy problems besetting the staff; handling the City Colleges was the work of the Junta. Within the first week of his employment, he demanded from the board of directors a number of policy changes which would alleviate internal tensions. He required written contracts for the staff, improvements in communication between the Junta and staff including consultation prior to Junta decisions, an audit of both fiscal and program records, and staff representation (without a vote) at Junta meetings. Continuing battles with the City Colleges provided a convenient excuse for Junta inaction on these matters; a year later, the same demands were being made, then by the joint staffs of all member organizations of the Junta's latest preoccupation: Centro Latino.

Centro Latino

For the Coalition, Universidad Popular was one interlude in a more expansive vision. Five months after Universidad Popular had been funded, the Coalition drafted another proposal to fund a more inclusive organization that would coordinate and consolidate not only the education center, but an employment office, physical and mental health facilities, a welfare rights organization, and other services to the Hispanic community of Lakeview. For the most part, these services already existed. Una Puerta Abierta had focused almost entirely on employment counseling and placement. The Lakeview Mental Health Council had already planned to develop a treatment center for the Latino community and Voz Latina was a welfare rights organization housed at Jane Addams Hull House. The Coalition hoped to find a common facility out of which these and other services could operate. Coordination of these community initiatives held obvious advantages for an education program committed to linking learning with the problems and concerns of the community. Both staff and board members of Universidad Popular were quick to perceive these advantages and played a major role in creating what became known as Centro Latino.

The first breakthrough in the creation of Centro Latino came in December 1972 when Universidad Popular moved to a former bank facility at 1005 West Belmont. The spacious interior made it possible to bring three organizations under one roof: Una Puerta Abierta, a counseling office operated by the Lakeview Mental Health Council, and Universidad Popular. The problem was that the facility offered no suitable space for classes. The facilities were rented with funds provided by Hull House. Actually, the lease had originally been drawn up for the City Colleges, but after a contract administrator from the central office visited the site and reported on its condition, the City Colleges refused

to sign. The interior was dark and without windows. Ventilation was poor and six foot makeshift partitions in the vaulted central bank area did little to prevent sound from echoing from one room to the next. Furthermore, the reputation of the building as a neighborhood center for drug traffic and prostitution was not conducive to recruiting Hispanic families to the program. Even apart from these drawbacks, fire code violations prohibited the use of the building as a school facility. Courses and workshops had to be scheduled in rooms borrowed throughout the community for the next six months. Only the offices of the Centro Latino components, including Universidad Popular, were located in the bank building.

When the Junta first discussed its involvement with Centro Latino it was unclear whether Universidad Popular was to be merely a member organization, or whether the Junta was to take primary responsibility for the creation and supervision of Centro Latino. By the time the Universidad moved to 1005 West Belmont, a decision, if not formally made, was at least assumed. The Junta was simultaneously the board of Centro Latino, in part by the default of others to take control. No resolution about Centro Latino was ever introduced at a Junta meeting. Even the move to the bank facility had been made without any formal decision of the board. The momentum of Centro Latino seemed to carry the Junta along with it, at times forcing the young board to shift its priorities away from the still unresolved issues paralyzing Universidad Popular and its staff.

Centro Latino had, within several months, become a drain on the resources of Universidad Popular. From its modest resources, Universidad Popular was providing the other three components of Centro Latino rent-free space, heat and electricity, telephone, supplies, duplicating costs, and in some cases office equipment. Universidad staff were managing Centro Latino and maintaining financial records for three organizations, while their own program languished from internal divisions, overcrowded and understaffed classes, and the continuing problem of inadequate facilities.

Two factors contributed to the Junta's acquiescence to a leadership role in relation to Centro Latino. First, the Junta felt Universidad Popular would be strengthened by uniting with other community-serving agencies. Hull House funding would be exhausted in a year; the financial commitment of the City Colleges was always uncertain and depended on external funding. Not only was there security in numbers, but diverse services could attract a diverse funding base.

The second factor was that the Junta was king without a kingdom. The City Colleges and, to a lesser extent, Hull House held fiscal power over Universidad Popular. From the beginning, the ability of the Junta to direct the program and staff had been weakened and, at times, preempted by these outside organizations. Centro Latino gave the Junta something to govern and allowed the Junta to define its authority and purpose without submitting those definitions to the judgment of others. As the board of Centro Latino, the organization was no longer merely "advisory" to the City Colleges, but existed in its own right.

Despite Everything, It Works

Despite endless problems, Universidad Popular attracted far more students than it could enroll. The reasons were clear enough to the community, although they seemed to elude administrators in the City Colleges. As a staff member many years later would put it, "In the land of the blind, one eye is king." Universidad Popular appeared all the more successful, given the ineptitude of other programs in the system. It was common sense to offer multiple levels of English instruction. Universidad Popular was one of the few programs in the City Colleges to do so. It was the first to offer placement tests to newly enrolled students, to experiment with "the Silent Way," and to test a variety of curriculum materials.

But Universidad Popular showed promise in another way--a way more directly related to its purpose and mission. The students of Universidad Popular felt they "owned" the program, even though the accounts ledger was maintained in someone else's office downtown. A growing number of workshops and courses at the center focused on day-to-day concerns such as immigration law, local elections, and tenant rights. In fact, the chancellor had already received complaints about the "political involvement" of Universidad Popular as early as April 1973. This was taken by staff as a sign of their success. Missing only was a symbol of this success: a suitable building in which to organize classes.

In June, all Centro Latino components moved to a recently built, but poorly constructed storefront at 3225 North Sheffield. The thin room dividers made it difficult to hold classes in adjoining rooms, the roof leaked, and it was unbearably hot in summer and cold in winter. But to the those who enrolled in its classes--over 250 when they moved in--this was, at last, their school. Rent was provided by both the City Colleges and Hull House. Despite pooled resources, the building was too small, even in 1973. A second, smaller storefront was rented several blocks away at 1143 West Belmont to provide additional classroom space. Although it had taken over a year and two moves before finding these facilities, they now had, in the Sheffield site, a community center--a center staffed by men and women chosen by the community, its walls decorated with notices of cultural events, political forums, and neighborhood news. Its small rooms and third-hand chairs could scarcely contain the crowds of people who came for ESL classes, workshops, meetings, and fiestas. They came--some speaking Spanish, some English--to learn, to plan, to organize, to celebrate, and to carry what they had learned and planned out onto Sheffield Avenue and beyond. This was an educational center uniquely linked to the struggles of the people for jobs, for housing, for the right to influence decisions affecting their lives. Despite a multitude of problems, by the end of 1973 Universidad Popular clearly showed promise. For all of its evident flaws, it represented a vast improvement over other programs in the city, evidenced by waiting lists of adults seeking admission into the program.

Staff were enthusiastic and committed to creating a community-based center; for the first time since the program began, it seemed as though energy might begin flowing into the development

of curriculum and activities benefiting the community, rather than being consumed with internal politics and fighting the City Colleges. In addition to ESL and General Educational Development (GED) preparation classes, workshops were organized around neighborhood gentrification, budget reductions affecting bi-lingual education in the schools, discrimination in employment, and other civil rights issues. Mural art workshops, Spanish classes for non-Hispanic members of the community, consumer education and criminal justice seminars provided a wide range of options for the growing numbers of adults enrolled in basic education courses. By 1974 enrollment was up to 370, with an additional 120 prospective students on a waiting list. Already the program had outgrown its two locations and some classes had to be scheduled in borrowed facilities.

Sewing classes had been funded through the Uptown Education Center. While not an innovative solution to the problems of Latino women, these classes did open Universidad Popular to a group which, with the help of Martha Gonzales and a University of Illinois intern, Sr. Mary Rose Nichols, eventually organized around women's rights and health care issues. With help from the Coalition, the women's program received a grant in 1974 and hired Lydia Franco and Lidia Valdez as organizers. Martha Gonzales had resigned her position as educational coordinator at the beginning of that year and was replaced by a young Chicano law student, Manuel Barbosa.

Education for Empowerment

While the Universidad was unique in offering workshops and seminars on social and political concerns of the community, 95% of its program--the ESL and GED curriculum--was typical of adult education programs throughout the city. Staff were committed to a liberatory pedagogy which linked the study of the human condition with action directed to social and political change, but the bulk of the program had failed to make a connection between learning and action. Adults with traditional expectations enrolled at Universidad Popular. They came from Mexico, from Latin America, from the southwest, and from a variety of neighborhoods throughout the city. Their ages ranged from 16 to 82, with most of the students in their mid to late twenties. Their personal goals varied; most sought better jobs, higher income, better integration into the mainstream of Chicago's working class. They did not expect, or even have time for, organizing or collective action. How can a program be committed to the self-identified needs of its students and, at the same time, engender political action and power? How can a program which recruits individuals one by one be the vehicle for organizing the Hispanic community?

Greg Rienzo, Tom Heaney, and Aimee Horton had been raising these questions since the beginning. But other, more immediate organizational questions kept intruding. Now, for the first time, a respite from the wars with the City Colleges provided time for these questions to be seriously pursued by the staff. A The Center for Continuing Education organized a series of "in-service" workshops in which Universidad staff analyzed their program with Center staff and several personnel from the St.

Mary's Alternative High School. Principal item on the agenda was to determine the feasibility of an alternative high school at Universidad Popular. St. Mary's, an accredited adult high school applying Freirean pedagogy in the context of a Black community on the near west side, was already developing a Spanish-language high school program as an outgrowth of its main program. The discussions provided a forum for critical reflection on social and political implications of the GED curriculum and for exploration of ways to bridge the personal, individual goals of students and the broader social goals of the community and of Hispanic peoples in Chicago.

As these discussions rippled out in widening circles, involving students, teachers, and community, several studies and reports were written. While these reports did not immediately lead to action, nonetheless they did result in a preliminary statement of the program's philosophy in which everyone--staff, students, and board--participated. In one of these documents, dated June 6, 1974, Rienzo, Langdon, and Barbosa wrote:

For many months now, perhaps December of last year would be the point of reference, staff members have felt that the Universidad Popular was entering a definitely crucial transition phase, a transition that really is part of the growth process and the gradual concretization of the ideas, hopes, and objectives that spawned the founding of the Universidad Popular. With the gradual but steady development of the women's program and the interest that that generated and with constant reflection on the educational elements of the over-all program, we directed our attention to the inner dynamics and *raison d'etre* of our activities... While we recognize the urgency of "credentializing" adults whose informal education is far and away beyond that of a high school graduate, we also go on record as proponents of an educational process which will promote the development of a critical consciousness in our students. We believe firmly in the concept of education as a practice and growth in freedom.

Woodstock

A further outcome of these discussions was a Junta/staff retreat. Aimee Horton was able to get the Woodstock Foundation to underwrite the weekend at its residential center in Woodstock, Illinois. It had taken staff members a full year to persuade the Junta that a retreat would be valuable, and that it should only involve Universidad Popular, not the full compliment of Centro Latino organizations as the Junta had initially wanted. Unfortunately, by the time the Junta was persuaded, there were only seven active Junta members and not all of them could participate in the weekend. The board and staff were to meet for three days in friendship and solidarity. An intensive time together would allow them to rededicate themselves to action and social change and to apply the pedagogical ideas of Paulo Freire to the program. The medium would be the message. The process of the retreat would allow Junta and staff to experience liberatory education. Greg Rienzo proposed getting a 'facilitator' for the

weekend, someone from outside the community whose views would be unbiased. He recommended a friend in Washington, D.C., Rick Margolies, a graduate student in clinical psychology who had conducted several workshops and seminars on Paulo Freire. Rick was hired to facilitate the weekend.

The retreat took place on the weekend of July 26, 1974. Evaluations of its effectiveness were mixed. Clearly, the weekend had not been the giant step forward expected by some. Such an expectation was, in retrospect, naive, given the variety of purposes and interests with which people came to the weekend. Some thought the weekend a failure and blamed the facilitator for his overly structured and academic approach to Freirean pedagogy. Margolies had opened the weekend with an eighty minute lecture covering such abstract points as "codification," "decodification," "mystification," and "limit acts." In Heaney's view, written in a six page evaluation report to the staff and board, participants at the weekend were so "mystified" by that opener that it took the remaining two days for many to regain their self-esteem. Others, including Rienzo, felt that, despite the structured agenda, much had been accomplished and all were enriched by the exchange. Margolies, in a reply to Heaney's report (for which he charged the Universidad an additional fee), argued that criticism directed against him was an expression of the class interests of Heaney and the City Colleges and a symptom of the problem against which Universidad Popular ought to be mobilizing its energies.

Evaluation of the weekend and reflection on its shortcomings helped continue the momentum of earlier discussion on the philosophy of Universidad Popular--at least for a few more months. Unfortunately, those discussions continued without Greg. He left the program one month after the retreat to complete graduate work at Tulane University. Manuel Barbosa asked to replace Rienzo as community coordinator, leaving the position of education coordinator open.

Work on the development of an alternate high school had continued while Manuel was responsible for curriculum development. A group of students interested in the high school program was already meeting weekly to participate in a "group," the central feature of the St. Mary's program. "Group" was modeled after the culture circles which Paulo Freire established in the villages of Brazil. These small groups reflected on their learning in GED and other classes, applying what they had learned to day-to-day life.

Meanwhile, without consulting the staff, the Junta hired Omar Peraza as the new education coordinator. Omar had recently moved to Chicago from Essex County College in New Jersey. He was more interested in setting up college-credit courses at Universidad Popular than in furthering the work begun by Manuel. Tom Langdon, in his board report for the month of August, expressed anger at the Junta for its total disregard of plans for the alternate high school in interviewing candidates. Despite apparent gains over the previous six months, relations between Junta and staff seemed little improved.

Peraza's relationship with the other staff remained distant for the ten months he was employed at the center. Peraza had

little interest in pursuing an alternative high school model. The last staff document prepared by Peraza on this question concluded that three reforms might combine the best of St. Mary's and Universidad Popular: 1) an expanded GED curriculum, 2) an enhanced role of students in planning their education, and 3) mandatory participation in "group." Universidad Popular could continue to offer GED preparation, but other courses might also be available for post-secondary credit through Loop College. The document concluded that any of these changes would be contingent on increased staff and funding. Nothing happened as a result of this document. In a later report to the Junta, dated April 2, 1975, Peraza recommended that the position of education coordinator be eliminated "because the program is established."

Work on the alternate high school and, with it, further development of the curriculum had come to a stop. Workshops and seminars on current issues continued to be "tacked on" to the GED and ESL curriculum, but were difficult to sell to individuals who, for two years, had known Universidad Popular only as a place to learn English and prepare for the GED examination.

Growing Frustrations

Staff were discouraged and burnt out. Hopes rode high on the weekend retreat, but quickly vanished under growing internal strife. Many Junta members had dropped off the board. Finees Flores tried--unsuccessfully--to get someone else to take his position as board president. Working conditions for teachers were difficult and the pay low. In addition to internal problems, the difficulty of interfacing with a large, bureaucratic institution seemed to increase each day. By 1975, the Chicago Skills Center had grown into a large city-wide program; its president, Peyton Hutchison, claimed responsibility for 37,000 students and 7,000 part-time teachers. The Skills Center changed its name to the Chicago Urban Skills Institute (CUSI) and was the newest 'campus' of the City Colleges of Chicago, even though it offered no college-level courses.

CUSI continued to operate, almost exclusively, with part-time teachers. In the mid-seventies, the maximum hours a teacher could work was twelve per week, which at eight dollars an hour was less than a living wage. Most teachers held other full time jobs, many of them as elementary teachers who "moonlighted" in adult education programs. The only hours for which teachers were paid were hours spent teaching in the classroom. There was no provision for preparation time, staff planning, curriculum development, or evaluation.

Universidad Popular depended on CUSI to supplement its teaching staff. Enrollment stood at close to 400 and additional teachers were always needed. These teachers were selected by the education coordinator in consultation with other staff and the Junta. Given the educational philosophy of Universidad Popular, together with its need to constantly adapt and reevaluate the curriculum, it was important that teachers be able to participate in meetings of the staff. Teachers served the community, not merely as educators improving minds, but as involved and committed participants in the ongoing work of improving local condi-

tions. At the urging of Heaney, and as a result of the chancellor's direct intervention, five twenty-hour teachers were promised. However, getting CUSI to honor that promise was a perennial struggle. A number of teachers actually worked far more than twenty hours a week without pay, and waited months for their twenty hour appointment to be approved. Others never obtained approval. Staff would spend hours negotiating the maze of CUSI's bureaucracy, only to have to begin again a week later. The Junta became involved in these troubles, if at all, only when they reached a critical stage. By then, staff frustration had usually turned to rage against the board for its unwillingness and/or inability to intervene.

While the Junta could probably have exerted some influence in these day-to-day struggles with CUSI, it would have been an continuous task with little chance of long-term success. The situation was intolerable. The simplest problems could only be resolved by going directly to the chancellor, while actual carrying out of a solution was turned over to underlings who were understandably resentful of these intrusions. As a result, endless delays sabotaged assured victories and the struggle would begin again. Since CUSI controlled an increasing share of the Universidad's funds, these petty annoyances grew to include the purchase of office supplies and educational materials, repairs of duplicating equipment and typewriters, the timely payment of utility bills and rent, as well as payroll.

By November 1974, Fines Flores resigned his presidency of the Junta. Jose Gutierrez Vargas, a young Puerto Rican who taught at the diocesan seminary, was elected president. He force-fed the languishing board a large dose of formality in the hope of reviving it. Board reports, modeled after those of the Board of Trustees of the City Colleges of Chicago, replaced spontaneous discussion of issues at Junta meetings. Memoranda became the principal means of Junta/staff communications. Staff reports were evaluated like homework assignments, being sent back for revisions and expansion.

Paralleling these unwelcome developments were several major shifts within the City Colleges. Continuing a trend toward centralization, the chancellor had created another college which would assume responsibility for all adult and continuing education, both credit and non-credit, except for adult basic education programs under the dominion of CUSI. This new administrative center was called "City Wide College," and if this "college" without a campus had doors, they would have been opened in August of 1974. The Center for Continuing Education was transferred to City Wide College, located in offices across the street from Loop College in downtown Chicago.

Into the Lion's Mouth

The Center for Continuing Education continued to be the Universidad's principal administrative link with the City Colleges. This role was legitimized because of "community service" funds, obtained in an annual grant of approximately \$50,000, administered directly by the Center. This grant from the Illinois Community College Board was all that stood between

Universidad Popular and total domination by CUSI. Unfortunately, the "community service" well ran dry by June 1975, at which time total fiscal responsibility for Universidad Popular was transferred to CUSI. Universidad Popular was now in the lion's mouth--subject to the rules and whims of an organization it had fought for the past three years. When its survival in that environment seemed in question, the chancellor transferred Tom Heaney to a newly created "Special Projects" office of CUSI as guardian of the Universidad's interests. Unfortunately, that office had little influence and no power over CUSI's administrative bureaucracy, and when Heaney left CUSI the following year, the office was eliminated.

Omar Peraza resigned in mid-June 1975. A search was undertaken for his successor, despite his earlier suggestion that the position was no longer needed. Samuel Soler, chosen by the Junta as Peraza's successor, began work on the day of the program's transfer to CUSI. He inherited a demoralized teaching staff and exhausted colleagues. Tom Langdon had already announced his desire to resign in three months. Manuel Barbosa, who was scheduled to complete law school, announced his intention to resign at the same time. With the departure of two of the three full time staff members, Soler was named administrative coordinator and Edwin Lopez, an applicant for the position of education coordinator when Soler was hired, was invited to replace Manuel. Within a space of several months, the Universidad had an entirely new staff, a new president of the Junta, and, more importantly, a newly defined relationship with the City Colleges. It was now a program of the Chicago Urban Skills Institute.

Universidad Popular was in serious trouble. Continuity with its beginnings appeared to be broken. Staff and board tensions had all but destroyed the program from within, and now the prospect of drowning in paperwork and meeting the other demands of CUSI was likely to be the final blow. In this context, Vargas began discussing staff and board reorganization. First, he concluded that the co-equal division of staff responsibilities had been ineffectual in dealing with the pattern of management by crisis developed over the previous three years. Second, he thought it necessary to formalize whatever power the Junta retained over Centro Latino. The by-laws had been hastily written in 1972 and had not been revised since. A committee of board and staff made the revisions in time for the incorporation of Centro Latino as a not for profit corporation on July 23, 1975. Each board and staff member contributed a dollar towards the \$25 state registration fee. The Articles of Incorporation identified Centro Latino as a "coalition of agencies," one of which was Universidad Popular--a "project of the City Colleges of Chicago."

Due to staff resignations, immediate concerns over the CUSI transfer, and generally chaotic conditions in the program, reorganization was put off for several months. Soler, when he succeeded Langdon, urged board consideration of a traditional, hierarchical staff structure. With support from Vargas, such a structure was proposed and adopted by the Junta in November. Universidad Popular again had a director, Samuel Soler. Lopez was named associate director, and the position of assistant director was created. In December, Rosa Berlanga was hired, completing

the new administrative staff of Universidad Popular.

For good or ill, this was a new beginning. Staff, unencumbered with the early history of the program, were ready to accept their situation and work within it. In what proved to be a temporary flourish of good will, CUSI was extraordinarily supportive, providing extra clerical help at times of registration, processing book and supply orders, and quickly resolving payroll difficulties. The "Special Projects" office seemed to be what was needed. While Tom Heaney continued to be involved with the program for another year, Aimee Horton and the Center no longer had any official connection with Universidad Popular. The Lakeview adult education center which Aimee and Tom had helped to begin in 1972 had survived several fiery years. Whether the ideals and purposes underlying that beginning had survived, time would tell.

TRANSITION: 1976-1977

Samuel Soler was the best person for the job, or so thought his supervisors at the Chicago Urban Skills Institute. He was ideally suited to work both sides of the street. He had to soothe troubled waters within, while establishing credibility among CUSI administrators who cared little for this maverick center in Lakeview. He possessed the key to an educational bureaucrat's heart: tolerance for mountains of paperwork and readiness to double the number of student contact hours, the latter being the basis for determining CUSI's revenues. Soler passed on to the teachers, in the form of policy statements, requirements of CUSI for time cards, class lists, and attendance records. Unfortunately, meeting CUSI's requirements did not guarantee that CUSI would meet the teachers' requirements for classroom materials. Under Soler's tight direction, the program quickly moved into a period of expansion. An improved relationship with the City Colleges seemed to result, as long as the Universidad didn't ask for anything in return.

While morale among full time staff appeared to improve, the Junta was in a period of decline. It had been difficult to maintain the constant momentum needed to survive the first three years, and the incentive to do so was weakened by the simple fact that the Junta had no money. The board had to constantly beg for needed funds from the City Colleges. Recurrent tensions dividing staff and board added to the burden of board membership. Some members stopped coming to meetings. Frequently, the few who came seemed to bring their own personal agendas, principal among which was to establish their credibility in the Hispanic community.

For example, in the fall of 1975 several board members sought to remove Jose Gutierrez Vargas from office. Vargas had been at the center of considerable conflict with the staff, and some concluded that his insistence on "top-down" decision making was responsible for demoralization among both staff and board. Vargas anticipated a move to replace him as president. At the November board meeting, when the staff reorganization plan was approved, Vargas recommended that election of new officers be postponed for a year and that present officers, including himself, be continued. Finees Flores, still active on the board, objected on constitutional grounds, but the motion carried three to three with Vargas breaking the tie. Vargas won, but his credibility was in question. The Junta answered that question several months later; there were no longer any followers to be led; the Junta simply ceased functioning. It rallied briefly in February for another crisis with the chancellor, but for a year after there were no recorded meetings.

The February rally was concerned with funding. Expansion cost money, and CUSI would prefer to have overhead remain the same while revenues increased. After the State eliminated "community service" grants, administrative costs of the program, including rent and the salaries of full time staff, had been taken out of a special fund for "disadvantaged students" provided by the Illinois Community College Board. In early 1976, Shabat announced that he had other use for these funds in the next

fiscal year. On Valentine's day, the Junta called another community-wide meeting to demand that the chancellor honor his promises to the community. The chancellor assured close to three hundred participants in the meeting at Wellington Avenue Church that he never had any intention of cutting the program's budget. In fact he intended to increase the budget with funds from Title IA of the Higher Education Act; new monies were, of course, contingent on current growth trends, thus adding to the momentum of expansion.

Teachers Say No

During this, as in several subsequent periods, the teachers were most important in maintaining continuity with the program's early liberatory philosophy. A number of the teachers in 1976 later played other roles as staff or board members, among them Carolyn Bayer, Charles Kyle, Javier Saracho, and Cindy Zucker. These and other staff became vocal critics of the Junta at a time when skirmishes between the director, the board, and the City Colleges seemed to have subsided. These critics knew that relative quiet had been achieved by compromising the director's and board's role as advocate for the community. In a letter dated 14 September to all the Junta members, the teachers of Universidad Popular and the staff of Una Puerta Abierta wrote:

In these trying times we are unable to obtain the support and resources needed from the Board to continue offering quality services to the Latino Community of Lakeview. La Junta has initiated plans and projects and has abandoned such before the work has been completed; committees have formed and disbanded before any meaningful task has been accomplished; communication among Junta members and staff of Centro Latino has become minimal; and progress is at a standstill.

The letter went on to charge the board with "poor attendance," "general lack of motivation and participation," "little or no communication among members," "slackness and/or confusion in abiding by its own by-laws," and "little or no participation of the grass roots." The teachers demanded a meeting of the Junta to remedy these deficiencies.

The demand was received by Elias Argott. Elias had been a founding board member of Universidad Popular. Despite initial fears of City College administrators that Elias was an "activist," he had been employed for the past year by Loop College as director of a funded project for Hispanic college students. Now, as vice-president of the board, he responded to the teachers' demand, convening the board in an emergency session. He had been unable to reach Jose Vargas for several months. While the emergency meeting did not resolve the difficulties presented by the teachers, it did achieve one thing. Two months after the meeting, Elias was Junta president. There were obvious advantages to the City Colleges now having one of their own administrators in that position. During the Argott presidency, tensions with the City Colleges were reduced. The board continued to be inactive.

The irony is that, when measured by traditional academic standards, Universidad Popular was probably never more successful

than it was during this two year period of transition. In the eight months since Soler became director, enrollment in the GED/ESL program increased from 444 to 740 students. Other workshops continued, including the women's program, typing classes, and Spanish, but these generally had to be scheduled on weekends or during morning hours when overcrowded facilities were not needed for basic education. Board members, who as we have seen already played a low keyed role in the affairs of Universidad Popular, were lulled by the visages of success into total inactivity. This well suited Argott, the new board president, who could ill afford to lead a crusade against his employer. And it well suited Soler, the director, who preferred the tranquility of a sleeping board to the meddling criticism endured by his predecessors.

It was a calm before the storm. For the period from January through July 1977 there are no records, no letters, no minutes of board meetings, no documents whatsoever. This does not appear to be the result of some mishap or loss, but simply an indication that nothing of significance was happening. The board did not meet. There was no longer any interaction between the center and other organizations in the area. There were no angry exchanges with CUSI officials or threats of lost funding. Only a ferment among some of the teachers--those already mentioned and a new teacher, Pepe Romero, who three years earlier had been a student in the program--kept the political purposes of the program alive. But on the surface, Universidad Popular had simply become a successful and efficient business. The man who made it so, Samuel Soler, was suitably rewarded. He was "promoted" by President Hutchison to the position of Regional Director for CUSI. Since the board was inactive, his resignation passed unnoticed.

By August of 1977, Edwin Lopez had left Universidad Popular. Soler had moved "up" in CUSI's bureaucracy. The Junta hadn't been heard from for months. The center appeared like hundreds of other "outposts." There were few reminders of the uniqueness of this adult education center.

The New Universidad Popular

Then the unexpected happened. Rosa Berlanga was the only full time staff member left. In August of 1977, she became director of Universidad Popular and immediately started to recover the losses of the previous two years. She reactivated the board, brought Argott out of moth balls and recruited several members of the community willing to put time and energy into the program. She set the wheels in motion to hire an associate and assistant and by October those positions were filled by Iris Bruno and Margarita Medina respectively. Most importantly, she began to reestablish a collegial relationship with staff and teachers. Towards that end, a board/staff retreat was scheduled for December.

Strategies which would have far reaching implications were developed at this retreat. Frustration was at an all time high for both staff and students. Staff had no vote in determining policy, and yet it was the teachers who now best articulated the ideals upon which Universidad Popular was founded. The students

had a vote, but since board meetings were generally conducted in English, they had no effective voice. At the December retreat, teachers won a year-long battle to gain representation on the board, against the objections of Argott who said teachers, as employees of CUSI, would have a conflict of interest and should not be given voting status. Argott, who was himself an employee of the City Colleges, resigned as president at this same retreat. The social and political purpose of Universidad Popular began to move back onto center stage, largely through the efforts of two teacher representatives at the retreat, Cindy Zucker and Pepe Romero. That purpose inspired and guided Berlanga to collaborate with teachers and board in seeking financial independence and the reintegration of the curriculum with the struggles of the community.

PART TWO: NEW BEGINNINGS: 1978-1981

The board of directors was reconstituted during the board/staff retreat in 1977, due to initiatives of Rosa Maria Sanchez. (Rosa had reclaimed the name she had before her recent divorce.) The board was briefly known as the "Council of Regents" and, for the most part, its members, like its name, were new. Rosa recruited Ricardo Mangual, executive director of Hispanic Alcoholic Services, as board president. Javier Saracho, a former part-time teacher at Universidad Popular in 1975 and now employed by the Illinois Migrant Council, became the treasurer of the new board. For the first time, teachers had two non-voting memberships held by Pepe Romero and Cindy Zucker. Administration also had two non-voting memberships. Voting members were to include three students, a participant in the women's program, and seven representatives of the community. This latter group included some of the "old guard." Elias Argott remained on the board until November of the following year when he walked out of a board meeting, angered by efforts to include greater student participation in board discussions. Hilda Frontany, who had been executive director of the Lakeview Latin American Coalition when Universidad Popular was founded and was now employed as an organizer by the Latino Institute, had continued as a board member since 1972. So had Fr. Charles Kyle. And among Rosa's new recruits to the board was Tom Heaney, now on the faculty of Northern Illinois University and resident of the Lakeview community.

During the early months of 1978, the new board was a "think tank" for reassessing the direction of the program and analysing the relationship with the City Colleges. In the judgment of City College officials, success of the program was based on the quantity of students registered and the number of hours each student received instruction in a classroom. These hours, called "contact hours," were used to compute revenues from several state offices including the Illinois Community College Board and the Illinois Department of Education. A study by Romero and Medina indicated a discrepancy between the contact hours attributed to Universidad Popular by CUSI and the original claims submitted by center staff. Universidad Popular was being short-changed when funds were allocated in CUSI's budget.

Problems with the City Colleges continued to multiply. In a letter sent to Chancellor Shabat in April 1978, Hilda Frontany wrote, "we are not getting cooperation from CUSI... We are frequently not informed of meetings and deadlines. Teachers are not paid for workshops for which they have been promised payment. Submitted forms are returned arbitrarily or lost, resulting in late or non-existent paychecks for teachers. At this point, we cannot even xerox required forms (to comply with CUSI regulations)." In addition, the facility at 3225 North Sheffield continued to deteriorate, despite almost monthly complaints both to the landlord and to vice chancellor Slutski who was responsible for leases held by the City Colleges.

An Evaluation

In early 1978, Rosa Sanchez had commissioned Franklyn Perez Varela to prepare a program evaluation for the Illinois Board of Higher Education. The evaluation--the first undertaken by someone outside the program--involved surveys, as well as extensive interviews with staff and students. The overall conclusion was that, while program quality was excellent, the organization was a disaster due principally to the overarching influence of the City Colleges. The students unanimously indicated they would recommend Universidad Popular to their friends. That they had done so was evidenced by burgeoning enrollments without any recruitment efforts on the part of staff. Over 90% of the students who took the GED examination passed, one of the best records in the city.

The program, although effective, was disjointed. "It seemed as though ESL and GED were renting space from the school and not parts within a greater organizational whole," Varela concluded. He had two major areas of concern. The first was intra-staff distrust and hostility, the second was the relationship with the City Colleges. The first concern seemed to be an unfortunate by-product of the second. Tensions were great, and when logistical matters seemed out of hand, it was difficult to know who was at fault. Teachers tended to blame administrators, while administrators blamed CUSI. The result was energy diverted from creative solutions. But, as Varela noted in his report, "the City College issue permeated the evaluation like a malevolent spirit. Everyone seemed as though they were walking on eggs."

The final report concluded that independence from the City Colleges should be a major goal. Towards that end, program funding was needed which could be administered directly by Centro Latino. This echoed the strategy already espoused by Pepe Romero, Cindy Zucker, and several other teachers. A board/staff retreat--the Universidad's traditional catalyst for renewal and reorganization--should be scheduled soon to rebuild solidarity among the staff and to reexamine their relationship with the city colleges. Within the next six months all of these recommendations would be followed, but the issues of independence from the City Colleges would take longer.

A Bid for Independence

In previous years, board and staff energy were consumed in dealing with the day-to-day problems noted in Varela's report. Solutions were assumed to be in the hands of City College officials and specifically the chancellor. Now, for the first time, board and staff began looking for alternative solutions. The problem was redefined and the City Colleges were the problem. The solution was to identify new sources of funding which could be controlled locally. Teachers, assuming a more active role in setting goals and policy, urged financial independence. Frustration over leaks in the roof, broken ventilation equipment, and fire hazards gave impetus to fundraising intended to net the downpayment for purchasing a building. In addition, Rosa launched an aggressive campaign for foundation support to cover part of the programs operating expenses. Between January and May

fifty-one proposals were submitted. By the end of the year, the efforts had paid off. Centro Latino/Universidad Popular received its first significant grant: \$15,000 from the Chicago Community Trust. Other smaller grants would soon follow; the Sun Times and Encyclopedia Britannica contributed \$1000 and \$3000 respectively.

Chancellor Shabat had already indicated that the continuation of three full-time staff at Universidad Popular might prove difficult. He had solicited the aid of the board in raising money, but assumed that all funds raised would continue to flow through the City Colleges. When Chicago Community Trust funds were given directly to Centro Latino, Shabat was less than enthusiastic about the board's proposal to transfer the Universidad's director, Rosa Sanchez, to the Centro Latino payroll. Shabat wrote to Ricardo Mangual, board president, on November 3, 1978:

This is to inform you that only our Board by state law is authorized to appoint persons for all positions to carry out the duties and responsibilities of every facet of out (sic) operation. Accordingly, the Director of la Universidad Popular shall be so appointed... It must be clearly understood that only the Board of Trustees which manages and operates the City Colleges of Chicago can appoint its administrators, supervisors and other personnel.

In a subsequent letter, Shabat added, "no person who is not an employee of the City Colleges of Chicago can be assigned the responsibilities and duties of the Director of la Universidad Popular."

The board quickly perceived that the chancellor's discomfort had little to do with the legal arguments presented. It had rather to do with his inability to control persons not on his payroll. It further clarified the chancellor's proprietary interest in Universidad Popular and his understanding that the community-based board was merely "advisory" to a City College program. Another board/staff retreat, held in mid-November, considered the full implications of independent funding and options, given the issue raised by the chancellor. Rather than confront the issue head on, the board offered a compromise. Rosa Sanchez was appointed the first executive director of Centro Latino and Iris Bruno, then associate director, was nominated as director of Universidad Popular. Iris's nomination was acceptable to the chancellor, and so a new division of responsibilities was instituted.

Two Organizations: Double Trouble

While the intention had been to gradually wean the program from its dependence on the City Colleges, the result was two separate organizations, each with its own staff and lines of authority, each with its own funding. This bifurcation of the program had begun in 1973 with the board's incorporation as "Centro Latino" and was intensified in 1978 with the visible division of staff. Confusion was inevitable. The roles of the two directors were unclear. If Iris, a CUSI appointee, supervised the teachers, what was to be Rosa's role? And what authority, if any, did the board retain? A rift grew between teachers

who were merely "moonlighting" after daytime jobs in the public schools and teachers who, despite their part-time employment, had a full-time commitment to Universidad Popular. The first group of teachers saw Universidad Popular as merely another CUSI outpost engaged in traditional adult basic education, while the second group, including activist teachers Pepe Romero, Javier Saracho, Cindy Zucker, and Carolyn Bayer, sought independence from CUSI and a curriculum related to political and social change. Iris was in almost constant conflict with the latter group of teachers. She tended to be autocratic, authoritarian, and out of step with the strategy of an independent Universidad Popular. Pepe, Cindy, and several other teachers wrote to the board, to Shabat, and to the local regional director for CUSI, Samuel Soler, asking clarification concerning the role of administrators at Universidad Popular. Statements were issued by Rosa and the board, but political dissonance continued.

While Pepe and Cindy carried on the battle against CUSI dominance, the other, more traditional teachers fought Centro Latino. A chasm seemed to open between Centro Latino and Universidad Popular. Centro Latino had a new board, but its membership included a number of the "old" boardmembers. And given the old board's history of conflict both with staff and with the City Colleges, traditional and conservative teachers--those uncommitted to independence--were reluctant to follow board direction. They resented the intrusion of Centro Latino into Universidad policy and concluded that the frustration experienced in their dealings with CUSI was the result of antagonism between Centro Latino and the City Colleges of Chicago.

Several months after Centro Latino received its grant from the Trust, the City Colleges closed down St. Mary's alternative high school. Previously, the chancellor had attempted to appoint a director for St. Mary's without involving the local community. The staff and students refused to accept the new director and, as a result, found themselves locked out of their school during the Christmas holidays of 1978. Coming as it did so soon after the Universidad's altercation with the chancellor over the appointment of Rosa Sanchez, the closing of St. Mary's was a grim reminder of the life and death power which the City Colleges held over its "outposts." For many, the lesson was clear: there could be no community-control while Universidad Popular was dependent on City College funding.

Several years back, St. Mary's had opened a second center in Pilsen for Spanish-speaking adults. This center became known as Instituto del Progreso Latino and, in the aftermath of St. Mary's closing, the Instituto sought to become part of Universidad Popular. The Instituto hoped thus to continue receiving City College funding. Given the Universidad's already strained relationship with the chancellor, this would have been like jumping out of the frying pan into the fire. Besides, a merger with a program so recently rejected by the City Colleges could only aggravate the Universidad's tenuous situation. The board pledged support and assistance, but was unable to take on another program half way across the city with so much still to be done at home.

The grant from the Chicago Community Trust not only forced a redefinition of the Universidad's relationship with the City

Colleges, it made life more complicated for both board and staff. They now had accounts and personnel to manage. They had to deal with the Internal Revenue Service, deduct withholding taxes, develop personnel policies including health benefits for employees. As workshops, classes, and activities independent of the City Colleges began to increase, so did the complexities of management. It was to take the next five years to work some of these difficulties out, driving a succession of auditors to the brink of insanity.

The Program: Variety and Expansion

While newly needed administrative skills developed slowly, the program itself grew rapidly in variety, quality, and sheer numbers. Workshops, courses, and conferences covered a range of topics from the legal rights of immigrants (a conference attended by 373 Hispanics) to resources for abused women (a workshop in which 50 women participated). The first concerted effort to integrate the GED/ESL curriculum with reflection on social, economic, and political issues was made in 1978. Seminars on themes of local concern were scheduled weekly during the regularly scheduled GED and ESL classes. Leaders in the community and activists from throughout the city were recruited as resource persons for these seminars, and for weekend classes and conferences as well. Rosa Sanchez called this the Educational Resource Program--a "safe" title not likely to threaten the City Colleges or potential funding sources.

One of the issues dealt with in these seminars was community health. This converged with an ongoing concern of the women's group which had frequently discussed preventative health care for themselves and for their families. A week long Health Fair had been organized in April of 1979, the first of what has now become an annual event. Funding was obtained later that same year from the Joyce Foundation for a more sustained community health initiative. The project was called Salud en Action (SEA), and its first project director was Maura Soto.

A small library had been created at Universidad Popular with books on loan from the Chicago Public Library. But in 1978, with Title IA funding, the Universidad began developing its own library with books in both Spanish and English emphasizing the political and cultural focus of the program. By 1979, Centro Latino had employed a librarian, Betty Guzman, to manage the growing collection. In addition a theater group had been formed by Carmen Aguilar to support popular culture and encourage the use of drama as an expression of hope, celebration, as well as political analysis. A legal clinic was opened with several attorneys volunteering their services.

None of these expanded services was to have the long range impact of the Spanish language program initiated by Javier Saracho and Pepe Romero in October 1979. Spanish classes had been an occasional feature of the Universidad's program from the beginning, and given the growing young professional population in Lakeview, such classes promised to provide an excellent source of revenue. It was this, in fact, that led Javier and Pepe to propose reinstituting a Spanish program as a further means of

achieving financial independence from the City Colleges. They anticipated such a program would support other, less lucrative components of Universidad Popular and also build a bridge between Anglo and Hispanic members of the community. Surprisingly, the board opposed the plan at first, claiming that the mission of the center was to serve Hispanics, not Anglos.

Fortunately, the board reluctantly gave its approval and the classes began. The revenues, as it turned out, were barely enough to cover expenses, but the bridge-building was quite successful. So successful that people from all over the city applied for admission. Not only was this one of the least expensive options for persons wishing to learn Spanish, but it was the only program which was thoroughly integrated with the life and culture of the Latin community. Students in the Spanish program became "full citizens" of Universidad Popular. They participated in all the fiestas and became involved in neighborhood issues affecting the Hispanic community. Most importantly, in the hard times ahead, both the students and teachers of Spanish became the most vocal advocates of independence and many assumed positions of leadership.

In all, Universidad Popular demonstrated remarkable flexibility in relating learning to social change. Its well-deserved reputation as an innovative, community-based center had, by now, spread beyond Chicago.

Changes and Shifts

None of these new activities were supported by CUSI. Only GED and ESL generated state revenues, so the major portion of staff energy continued to be consumed by adult basic education classes. Enrollment was at an all time high by September 1979. Eight hundred and seventy-five adults were registered in thirty-nine basic education classes, this in addition to four hundred adults in other courses and workshops. This made Universidad Popular the largest adult education center in the city, and certainly the most lucrative for the City Colleges. Nonetheless, little was returned to the neighborhood-based center; both facilities and working conditions continued to deteriorate. Iris Bruno noted in her report to the City Colleges for the first quarter of 1979 that "the facilities are inadequate and at times have been hazardous to our students' and personnel's health; we have shortages of supplies and equipment which blocks our ability to fully meet the needs of our total operation."

1979 was a year of resignations. Frustrations and conflict quickly wore out staff and volunteer board members. Iris Bruno resigned as director in mid-April, to be replaced by Carolyn Bayer who had been a teacher at Universidad Popular almost since the beginning. Ricardo Mangual resigned because of increasing demands on his time and Javier Saracho became board president in March, a position he would hold for only a month and a half. Rosa Sanchez resigned as executive director in mid-May to attend law school. She left behind her a far more vital organization than the one which employed her in 1977. She had intended reforms which would humanize the program, but with the support of several teachers and board members she had begun a revolution,

the final outcome of which only a few perceived at the time. With characteristic thoroughness, Rosa completed details for the transition. In a double shift, Javier took her place as the acting executive director, while Hilda Frontany replaced Javier as president of the board. The last remaining member of the administrative team, Margarita Medina, resigned the following November. She was replaced by Juanita Camacho who became associate director. Juanita, a close friend of Samuel Soler, was the weak link in the chain and would eventually betray the trust placed in her.

Conflict Within

Divisions between the two staffs--Centro Latino and Universidad Popular--widened throughout 1980. Staff employed with funds controlled by the community steadily increased. Maura Soto continued as project director for SEA. Pepe Romero had been hired to coordinate the Spanish classes, and two VISTA volunteers had joined the staff as organizers. A sense of collegiality developed among these "Centro Latino" staff that did not always include part-time teachers of Universidad Popular. As the priorities of Centro Latino gained dominance, some of the GED/ESL teachers began to look more to the City Colleges for their security. They were, in fact, employees of CUSI. The Centro Latino board had done little for them and seemed uninterested in their problems. Hostilities directed toward the board in earlier years now found a ready target in the executive director and other staff not on CUSI's payroll. There was even suspected sabotage of the Spanish classes, when a secretary on the CUSI payroll gave out false information in response to a large number of telephone inquiries.

The divisions became even more apparent when Centro Latino moved its offices out of the Sheffield site, symbolically foreshadowing an impending split in the organization. Swelling enrollments made impossible demands on the limited facilities provided by the City Colleges. Using its own funds, the board leased another store front at 1041 West Belmont on which two foot letters proudly announced the new headquarters of "CENTRO LATINO." In contrast, 3225 North Sheffield bore the legend in small plastic letters, "Universidad Popular."

A rumor, attributed to Soler, suggested that Universidad Popular was about to be cut from the CUSI's budget. Whatever hopes there might have been for independence from CUSI, the monumental loss of funding associated with independence was too great a cost. Besides, Centro Latino had its own financial problems and seemed to move from one crisis to another. Some crises were merely on paper--cash flow problems due to special funds being set aside for a new building or some other project--, but they were severe enough to result in staff being unpaid for months at a time. Fundraising efforts were multiplied. Javier organized a massive Radiothon on WOJO-AM which raised over \$4,000 in community support. Such efforts also raised the ire of teachers who felt that they and their students were being used for the financial gain of Centro Latino. The Radiothon and other fundraising events depended on and received wide support from stu-

dents.

The board drew anger from both staffs. Teachers resented what they perceived as an "outside group" setting policy for their program. Centro Latino staff, who were little more than volunteers themselves, resented board members not carrying a fair share of the burden. This was especially evident in fundraising events such as the Radiothon, which some board members didn't even attend. Staff fundraising was directed to special purposes, such as the purchase of a new building, while the board was expected to raise revenues for ongoing day-to-day operations. The operating revenues always seemed to lag behind the staff's "special purpose" funds. When Jose Romero and Javier Saracho had been unpaid for several months, the board ordered that the "building fund" be used to cover back wages. Jose and Javier simply refused to issue themselves checks, insisting that the board accept responsibility for operational expenses. Unfortunately, the board failed to understand that to spend "building fund" monies on salaries would be to lose ground, to betray the dream of independence for which Jose, Javier, and others on the staff struggled.

However, the root of conflict dividing the two staffs from each other and from the board was not financial insecurity, but an emerging philosophical difference embedded within the program from its beginning. The original thrust toward social and political change became the dominant motivation of Centro Latino staff during 1980. Independence from the City Colleges was not merely a technical solution to the problems of the past eight years, but the sine qua non of liberatory education. Javier, Pepe, and the other workers employed by Centro Latino, met regularly, reflected on the program's past and present, and devised strategies for the future.

Carolyn was sometimes a participant in these discussions, but seemed to some to be weighed down with the inertia of CUSI's vast and impersonal GED and ESL program. She was forced to play a dual role, certainly supportive of the political and financial independence advocated by Centro Latino, but at the same time CUSI's "director" of a center employing more than thirty teachers. Some of her teaching staff resented being called upon to work for Centro Latino, to answer telephone calls about the Spanish classes, or promote other Centro Latino projects. Carolyn was caught in the middle. By many teachers she was perceived as favoring the "radicals" at 1041 West Belmont, while Javier and Pepe often thought of her as uncooperative and "selling out" to CUSI.

But Carolyn's loyalties were clear, as in a report to the board which she wrote with Cindy Zucker. They wrote, "the basic contradictions of an alternative community-based educational center, within the framework of a bureaucratic, unresponsive institution like CUSI, need to be laid out and analysed by Board and staff." With a single-mindedness that frightened some board members, Carolyn and Cindy sought to excise contradictions from the program, even if it meant risking a break with the City Colleges. The risk was greatest for Carolyn, who alone among the critics of CUSI was full time on the City College's payroll.

Not many of the teachers were risk-takers--especially when

their jobs were at risk. They had a totally different notion of the center and its curriculum. For them, Universidad Popular's educational goal was to serve individuals, provide remedial education so that poorly educated, Spanish-speaking adults could compete in an Anglo world. They were educators, not political activists. And they resented having a political agenda thrust upon them, even more having to bear the fallout from CUSI when Centro Latino overstepped the neutral bounds of the classroom.

The Attack Begins

In was to bridge these division that a board/staff retreat was planned for the weekend of November 8, 1980. Fr. Kyle had offered the use of a summer home in Indiana on the shores of Lake Michigan. Several students, teachers, board members, and all the administrative staff were to participate in discussions of educational philosophy, the relationship between Centro Latino and Universidad Popular, and proposals for democratizing decision-making to include the voices of staff, teachers, and students. Car pools had been arranged to leave Friday afternoon, so that the retreat could begin with supper that evening.

The day before the retreat was to begin, Carolyn Bayer received a telephone call from Oscar Shabat. The chancellor had a report before him charging Universidad Popular with subversive activities, including dissemination of communist propaganda and training recruits for the Puerto Rican terrorist group, FALN. The origins of these charges was not revealed. Nor were the allegations to be repeated in the coming months, although the attack continued unabated. The vehemence with which the attack on Centro Latino was launched left little room for doubt that suspicion remained, but the origins of that suspicion were unrevealed. There was no opportunity for Carolyn to face her accusers.

The next day, the same day the retreat was to begin, Carolyn received another call, this time from Peyton Hutchison, president of CUSI. Carolyn was ordered to deny Centro Latino access to facilities rented by the City Colleges, specifically those housing Universidad Popular, and she was to take immediate steps to insure that CUSI's records and property were secure.

Despite the turmoil created by these two telephone exchanges, the retreat took place as scheduled. The previously planned agenda remained unaltered, except that the work of the weekend was undertaken with a new sense of urgency. Everyone recognized that the survival of Universidad Popular without City College funding was questionable. Survival with City College support might carry too high a price tag. Despite the divisions of the past year, and perhaps because of the new offensive from Hutchison, the mixed group quickly came together, overcame residual distrust, and developed a strategy for reorganization.

Consejo Provisional

The need for solidarity and broad representation in planning was never more evident. Board members, recognizing they were too distant from the current crisis, depended on the insight and

perseverance of staff to save the center. Unless the base of participation in decisions was broadened, all could be lost. At the retreat were those most committed to Centro Latino--teachers, students, and administrative staff, many of whom had already informally assumed leadership of the organization. It was clear that the future of Centro Latino/Universidad Popular rested with this group. The group gave itself a name: the "consejo provisional." The board of directors, having a quorum present, ceded to the consejo all of its decision-making authority, save those fiscal and legal matters for which the board is held accountable by law. The board further agreed that, after a suitable period of transition, the consejo would be elected to full board membership. The consejo was not a closed group; in the days following the retreat, others could join it. For the first time, staff members had a vote and shared board authority with students and other members of the community.

Organizing the consejo left little time to discuss the implications of the telephone calls from Shabat and Hutchison. The danger was clear. The consejo did not want a repetition of a lockout experienced by St. Mary's in which all student records were confiscated by the City Colleges and only restored after St. Mary's obtained a court order. On returning to the city, members of the consejo immediately removed its own property, student lists, and other critical documents from 3225 North Sheffield. Copies of these records were secured at the Centro Latino office several blocks away.

Confronting Power

Monday morning, Carolyn Bayer received another call from the chancellor. His message was repeated in a letter sent two days later. The letter stated:

You and staff and training specialists are employees of our Board (of Trustees) and as such are subject to the Board's and the Chancellor's policies, and rules and regulations concerning the management and operation of La Universidad Popular. You and staff and training specialists at the Center are not employed by any other agency and therefore are not under the jurisdiction, supervision or control of any other agency or person. If you have been confused by the matter, this letter is to set the record straight.

...In reference to printed material or posters which indicate directly or indirectly that Centro Latino is in charge of or operates La Universidad Popular, you, as Director of La Universidad Popular, are hereby directed to act in a manner as to bring this practice to an end. La Universidad is operated as part of the City Colleges of Chicago.

If there is any violation of the directives set forth in this letter by you or any other staff member or training specialist, such employees involved will be subject to summary dismissal for willful refusal to follow directives and for insubordination.

The chancellor added that the property and equipment of the City Colleges was not to be used by any "outside" organization, a thinly veiled reference to Centro Latino.

Carolyn responded carefully, with the advice of her attorney, and for a few weeks no further offensives were taken by the chancellor. Life at Universidad Popular continued. A Gran Posada Baile was held in December which was not only profitable, but provided a welcome respite from the unresolved accusations and counter accusations which signaled a split with the City Colleges. Some were mindful that the second anniversary of the closing of St. Mary's was rapidly approaching. The sense of being again "under siege" brought a spirit of solidarity well reflected in lyrics written by Javier Saracho to be sung to the old union and civil rights song, "Which Side Are You on?"

La hora es seria, amigos,
Y no hay que ser neutral.
O luchas con nosotros
O apoyas a Shabat.

De que lado estas?
De que lado estas?

Carolyn Bayer had planned to take a vacation over the Christmas holidays. Juanita Camacho had been "promoted" by Samuel Soler to a counselor position at another CUSI site shortly before the altercation between Shabat and Bayer. Her departure, which some thought had been planned in anticipation of the impending attack on Universidad Popular, left Carolyn the only "CUSI" administrator on hand. This gave Hutchison the room he needed to make his next move. CUSI announced its intention to provide an interim replacement during Carolyn's absence. The board immediately objected, insisting that Javier Saracho could assume Carolyn's responsibilities for the few days in question. A meeting with the chancellor was scheduled for December 18th and Carolyn, hoping to develop her own offensive against the City Colleges, briefed the board on the failings of CUSI over the past year. Some teachers had been unpaid since last April for in-service workshops. Carolyn had been uninformed about changes in course numbers, necessitating days of extra work changing over 850 registration forms. The annual assignments of teachers were "misplaced" by CUSI's personnel administrators, resulting in some teachers being taken off the payroll and not getting paid for months of work. No instructional materials for ESL had been received since the beginning of 1980 and requests for mimeograph paper to duplicate older materials had been summarily refused.

The situation was hardly better around the corner at the offices of Centro Latino. The grant supporting an executive director had long since expired and no new monies had been found. Neither Pepe nor Javier had been paid since September. Javier announced that by mid-1981 he would leave for Puerto Rico; he resigned as executive director in January of that year. SEA's funding continued, but Maura Soto--now married to Javier and about to leave the city--was not inclined to assume any leadership role during the months of transition. In the void, Pepe assumed the role, but not the title of executive director, in addition to his continued management of the Spanish program. Despite financial concerns, there was an emerging vitality born

of the conflict with the chancellor--a hopefulness among those for whom the withdrawal of the City Colleges was as the lifting of a great weight from the back of Centro Latino. The consejo was the glue holding the organization together during those days, the consejo and the Spanish program which was the only vehicle for retaining staff.

Since the retreat the board had kept a low profile, in part in order to encourage leadership within the consejo provisional, but mostly because some board members thought diplomacy would win, that once again Oscar Shabat would save Universidad Popular before disaster struck. Other board members were simply exhausted, having fought these battles since 1972, losing ground every time. Whatever the cause, the inactivity of the board was not welcomed by the consejo who perceived the board as running from the chancellor and Hutchison. In fact, two strategies began to develop for dealing with this latest crisis. The first was the strategy of several old guard board members fearful of precipitating a total break with the City Colleges. They sought to organize community support and the intervention of political allies to influence Shabat to renew old commitments--this despite the growing evidence that the chancellor no longer trusted the board and hence a resumption of the former relationship would be impossible. On the other hand, the consejo devised a more radical strategy. For them, Universidad Popular had already been cut loose from the chains of CUSI. The most immediate challenge was to prove that the vitality of the program had not depended on City College support. Confrontation with the chancellor should be avoided. Another south side program, Woodlawn Prep, had recently been defunded by Shabat; they fought back and as a result had the city fire inspectors shut down the entire program for alleged violations of the fire code. Why fight the City Colleges when the City Colleges had nothing Universidad Popular needs? The consejo was not afraid of breaking with the City Colleges. The old guard, on the other hand, saw City College support as essential.

A clear indication of this dual strategy appeared in reactions to the December 18th meeting with Shabat. The board and consejo met shortly after the event to reflect on what had happened. The minutes of this meeting reflect two conceptual frameworks. Charles Kyle was encouraged by the meeting with the chancellor which he felt showed the community's power to force Shabat to honor his commitments. Gustavo Espinosa agreed; that the program remained open was a victory of sorts and a source of encouragement. But Javier argued that Centro Latino should continue its work outside the influence of CUSI and Pepe added that, if the relationship with CUSI continued, Centro Latino would no longer control Universidad Popular. Carolyn shared this view and talked about the importance of reappropriating the name "Universidad Popular," since the chancellor now claimed it for the City Colleges.

The Long Search

The final and longest act in this life and death drama began in January 1981 with Carolyn Bayer's resignation as director of

Universidad Popular. Carolyn had been personally the focus of the chancellor's initial attack and, since she was on CUSI's payroll, was clearly the most vulnerable spokesperson for the rights of the community. Pepe Romero anticipated that Carolyn's departure would leave a vacuum which CUSI would quickly fill with its own person, thus eliminating Centro Latino's only remaining link with the beleaguered program. The board reluctantly accepted Carolyn's resignation, with only Jose dissenting.

CUSI initiated an interminable procedure for seeking her replacement--a procedure obviously designed to frustrate and eventually eliminate Centro Latino's role in guiding the operations of Universidad Popular. Saracho, as informal spokesperson for the board, telephoned Hutchison to work out arrangements for a search to begin. Hutchison followed the call with a letter refusing to deal with Saracho on this or any personnel matter, since Saracho was teaching a class and, therefore, for a few hours each week was on CUSI's payroll. Hutchison alleged that any involvement of Saracho in a personnel matter would be "precluded by City Colleges of Chicago policy."

Nonetheless, the board proceeded to announce the vacancy, setting a closing date for applications of February 7th. CUSI initiated its own search, but sent an assistant to President Hutchison, Miriam Lugo-Gonzalez, to serve as acting director while the search proceeded. Within several days, Lugo had brought back Juanita Camacho as assistant director. Hilda Frontany responded with a letter to the chancellor:

To the Chicago Urban Skills Institute, we may be just one among hundreds of program sites, larger than most, but apart from size having no qualitative difference. However, we are aware that our persistent ideals and unique requirement for community participation in decision-making have been an ongoing source of irritation within CUSI's immense operation. Despite this failure to openly recognize our present successes and our potential as a model for popular education, the Universidad Popular has achieved a national reputation for excellence in education and for its exemplary integration of learning with the struggles of Spanish speaking people to survive the indignities of poverty, the barriers of language, cultural shock and feeling that they are being left out from the mainstream of society. . .

Until the recent repressive actions and measures of the Institute, we had reason to take pride in our work. We had encountered major difficulties and crises during our eight year history with the City Colleges, but for the most part these had been transcended, frequently through your direct intervention. The events of the past two weeks represent to us an unwarranted and unreasonable attack on the essence of the educational program we have created. While we are grateful for your willingness to provide interim administrative staff until we can complete interviews for a permanent director, we find it necessary to inform you that this interim staff is acting in a manner that is completely opposite to any understandings between you and us, and contradictory to the spirit of Universidad Popular.

The letter continued to list actions taken by Miriam Lugo which

included the termination of four teaching staff, some of whom were members of the consejo, ostensibly because of their advocacy of the community's authority over the program. She instructed teachers and students not to "loiter" in the halls, insisting that Universidad Popular was not a community center. She removed all notices of events and posters and invited the police to patrol the halls during classes to intimidate students. Funds raised by Centro Latino and property of the board were confiscated. Educational activities such as the theater group and the women's health project were thrown out of the building.

In the light of these offenses, the mild and almost pleading tone of Hilda's letter seemed inappropriate to many. So also did the continued participation of the board in a six month search for a new director. The procedures followed were unparalleled in the histories of Universidad Popular or the City Colleges and made a mockery of the honest efforts of the board to meet the shifting requirements of Hutchison and the chancellor. For the previous eight years, CUSI's only role in the search for new staff at Universidad Popular had been to approve funds for positions and to make final approval of the board's selection. Applications had always been made directly to Universidad Popular and board and staff conducted the only interviews prior to a candidate being recommended for employment. All of this was to change.

On March 5th, Hutchison forwarded to Hilda the first batch of applications submitted to CUSI. He asked that her board's recommendations be communicated to him within ten days so that the chancellor could consider these recommendations in making his own preferences known to the Trustees at their April meeting. Several days later, Hilda responded that she would include the applications sent by Hutchison with those already received directly by Universidad Popular. She also asked for a delay so that interviews could be conducted and said she would begin contacting all the applicants at once. Hutchison wrote back several days later, indicating that the chancellor wanted him to correct his earlier letter to indicate that recommendations were not wanted, merely "advisories" on each of the applications. Shabat gave added emphasis to this subtle distinction between recommendations and advisories by sending his own letter to Frontany. The chancellor's letter added that only applications sent to CUSI were to be considered in the search.

The procedure was reiterated by the chancellor at a mid-April meeting with supporters of Universidad Popular. Frontany pointed out that no Hispanics were included in the first batch of applications; neither had CUSI advertised the position in the Spanish-language media. The chancellor agreed to rectify this failure. Hutchison was instructed to notify Frontany of a new closing date so that she could recruit Hispanic candidates in the Spanish press. Hutchison complied by giving three days notice. He forwarded a new set of applications on May 12th and insisted that advisories were needed by the 26th. Hilda was forced to again write both Hutchison and the chancellor to point out that it would be impossible to review the qualification of thirty-seven candidates in less than a week. Furthermore, the one candidate which she had managed to recruit in three days was not

even included in the package she had received from CUSI, despite the fact that Hutchison's secretary had signed a receipt for the application prior to the closing date. In her letter to the chancellor, Hilda indicated that the board remained committed to implementing the agreements made in mid-April. She concluded her letter stating, "Honestly, Chancellor, the past years good working relationship allows us to continue hoping for a satisfactory solution."

Hilda spoke for a diminishing number of board and consejo members. A third announcement was made for the position and a third packet of applications forwarded to Hilda on June 16th. No further action was taken by Hilda or the Centro Latino board to carry the search further. Centro Latino and CUSI's outpost at 3225 North Sheffield had irrevocably moved down separate paths.

Separate Paths

While formal negotiations over the role of Centro Latino in the selection of a new director dragged on for six months, the relationship between the City Colleges and Centro Latino had ended in February with the appointment of Miriam Lugo-Gonzalez as acting director. For the first time the center, which CUSI continued to identify as "Universidad Popular," was administered by a person who owed no allegiance to Centro Latino's board. From that time forward, the board no longer had any influence on what occurred in the facility on Sheffield. Lugo, anticipating hostility from those few teachers remaining loyal to Centro Latino, made unwarranted demands on her teachers and escalated the conflict already dividing staff. In her words, she had been "sent by the City College administration because it was brought to their attention that political philosophies were being propagated, rather than educational needs being taken care of."

Most of the the teachers associated with Centro Latino were preemptively fired, among them Pepe, Jorge Hernandez, Mariana Montenegro, and Manuel Flores. Betty Guzman was pressured to resign. Only Javier Saracho, who no longer had an income from Centro Latino, remained on CUSI's payroll after the purge--a fact which, as we have seen, provided an excuse for rejecting his role in mediating between the City Colleges and Centro Latino. From February on, the program and activities originally identified with Universidad Popular shifted to the storefront at 1041 West Belmont. At least one of the teachers fired by Lugo, Manuel Flores, continued to teach classes "underground," in the basement of a church. While some staff and consejo members protested the actions of Lugo and the City Colleges, most of them gave priority to continuing the program and shoring up its badly damaged financial base.

On March 7th, 200 community members who supported the Universidad's philosophy assembled at St. Sebastian Church, amid new accusations voiced by Lugo that students had been used by Centro Latino to raise thousands of dollars, and that the funds raised were not accounted for. Participants at the meeting included five state legislators, an alderman, and a Congressional staff member. These political allies, some of whom were responsible for approving annual state revenues coming to the City Colleges,

promised their support in negotiations with Shabat. Shabat was on vacation and unavailable for comment to reporters representing both English and Spanish language newspapers at the meeting.

A second, larger meeting was held two weeks later. Even more state and local elected officials were present, due in large measure to the organizing efforts of board member Charles Kyle. Shabat was invited but, for the first time since the crisis of 1972, failed to attend. He sent associate chancellor Salvatore Rotella. In his absence, a videotape of Shabat's appearance on "Our People: Los Hispanos" was screened in which the chancellor praised Universidad Popular and the importance of community control. The program had been televised only a few weeks prior to Shabat's accusatory call to Carolyn Bayer. A "Blue Ribbon Committee," chaired by the founding board president, Fines Flores, countered the allegations about "missing funds" circulated by Lugo and others with a full audit of Centro Latino accounts. Community members spoke about the roots of Universidad Popular in the volunteer efforts of local groups. Both students and alumni spoke of the value of Universidad Popular and compared it with other programs operated by CUSI throughout the city. Teachers spoke at the meeting, saying that, since February, the school's informal atmosphere had changed to one of "intimidation." A new sense of solidarity united some of the teachers who stood behind the board's efforts to maintain community control, rather than succumbing to the threats of their employers.

Meanwhile, an even more formal exchange had begun between City College officials and a Universidad attorney. Dick Stanton, a student in the Spanish program and soon-to-be board member, wrote Hutchison to stop the practice of opening and retaining mail addressed to Centro Latino at 3225 North Sheffield. Hutchison agreed to forward Centro Latino's mail to Stanton's office. But in his reply he demanded that Centro Latino cease and desist from using the name "Universidad Popular." According to Hutchison, relinquishing the name would eliminate the confusion. Stanton responded that, while the organization he represented was incorporated under the name "Centro Latino," it did business under the name "Universidad Popular." The City Colleges should therefore cease and desist from the use of this name.

Alderman John Merlo, with the help of Senator Dawn Clark Netch, Rep. Ellis Levin, and aides of Rep. Dan Cullerton and Congressman Sydney Yates, attempted to calm hostilities by setting up the mid-April meeting of board members and the chancellor. The meeting resulted in a more formal statement of policy by the chancellor in the form of a letter to Hilda Frontany, but did not achieve the hoped for normalization of relations. Centro Latino was acknowledged as an advisory group to the City Colleges in regard to the latter's management of Universidad Popular, but other Latino organizations wishing to join the group of "advisors" would be considered. Centro Latino, as well as other outside groups, could use the facilities at 3225 North Sheffield, if the facilities were not needed for City College business and if the organization paid the costs of utilities, janitorial and security services. Also, the chancellor agreed to revisions in the search procedures which, as we have already seen, were never followed. The one significant conces-

sion gained by the board was the name "Universidad Popular." The Chancellor had found a "better" name for his outpost. It was to be known as the "Lakeview Learning Center."

Miriam Lugo was the only casualty from political pressure on the chancellor. By May she was replaced by Juanita Camacho who was named acting director. Camacho, like her predecessor, continued a campaign to discredit the "other" Universidad Popular, but she softened the oppressive atmosphere created by Lugo by adding classes on watercolor painting and dancing to the curriculum of the Lakeview Learning Center. Expressing the new spirit of the center, she wrote "Together, we, students, faculty and administrative staff, are the school. We look forward to the continued support of Dr. Hutchison. . ." She continued to refer to her program as "Universidad Popular," despite protestations from Centro Latino. It was not that old habits die hard; rather she had difficulty recruiting students and hoped that by calling her operation "Universidad Popular" she could cash in on the "other" program's reputation.

Merger and New Directions

Despite severe difficulties, there had been no meetings of the board for several months. While a core of the consejo, augmented by several teachers in the Spanish program, continued to meet almost daily, more formal long range planning was essential. Many of the old board had drifted away during the crisis, casualties of the split from the City Colleges. For many of these old board members, there was simply no Universidad Popular once the City Colleges dropped its support. Pepe sought to reconstitute the board, inviting some new members and encouraging a few "old timers"--Gustavo Espinosa, Tom Heaney, and Carolyn Bayer to participate.

On June 6, 1981, the remains of the old board and the consejo provisional merged at a meeting in the basement of Fr. Kyle's church. Members of the consejo were unanimously elected to the board of directors. Jose Romero was named the new executive director of Centro Latino/Universidad Popular, a role that he had already played for six months. At a subsequent board meeting in December, Carolyn Bayer became the new board president and Hilda, who had fought so quixotically against Shabat, "retired" to the position of vice-president. Javier still had not been paid for the months prior to the Radiothon in 1980. The new board reiterated an old decision and again resolved to pay him from the "building fund." This time he was paid.

The fears of those who thought that Universidad Popular could not survive without the City Colleges were put to rest. Staff and board alike began to realize, some with surprise, the inexorable burden that had been lifted from them. The development of curriculum relevant to the struggles of the people who joined the program was always given second place to maintaining the vast GED and ESL program which alone produced revenues for staff salaries and overhead. Now priorities could be determined locally. The challenge of building education from the bottom up, on the ground of community experience, could, for the first time, be accepted and met over time.

Earlier components of Universidad Popular continued. The health project, Salud en Accion, continued to receive support from the Joyce Foundation, and with its new director, Yolanda Jaramillo, organized workshops and conferences on family planning, the abuse of women and children, drug abuse, patient rights, and the health care industry. The theater group was called "Abriendo Brecha" and, under the direction of Carmen Aguilar, continued to present community-based plays and organize theater workshops. The legal services program continued to offer free legal counseling with the help of board member/attorney, Gabriel Vidella, and the Spanish classes enrolled close to one hundred students, many of them professionals who would help the program through the next few difficult years. In addition, the center regularly presented "tardes culturales" which were open to the community, both Hispanic and Anglo, and included film presentations, mime, concerts, and many fiestas.

Inevitably, the ESL/GED classes were drastically reduced, with only a few token classes now taught by volunteers. Basic education was important to Universidad Popular, providing a link with adults seeking to develop individual skills who would, through their contact with Universidad Popular, become more critically conscious of the city and the world. Some of these would seek collective solutions to urban problems, rather than limiting their development to speaking English and obtaining a GED certificate. Without basic education classes, the well from which new leadership would be drawn would soon be dry. The principal obstacle to offering these classes was the lack of money. Federal guidelines for adult education funds required that states make these monies available on a competitive grant basis to community-based organizations. Illinois disregarded these guidelines and distributed the funds through a closed system of school districts and community colleges. The City Colleges of Chicago had cornered the market for the city. Organizations with proven records in adult basic education were excluded from public funding, and private funding sources were reluctant to put their resources in competition with the millions allocated by federal and state governments. Other activities at Universidad Popular could be supported with grant revenues or, in the case of the Spanish program, could be self-sustaining. But these sources were not readily available for the education of poor and illiterate, Spanish-speaking adults.

Staff and board members developed a proposal to the U.S. Department of Education for combined ESL and GED classes. The proposal was sent through Northern Illinois University where board member Tom Heaney was now a faculty member. There were several critical differences between this proposal and the one submitted by Heaney and Horton in 1971. The principal difference was that, although a public higher educational institution would receive the grant, Universidad Popular would receive most of the money in a sub-contract, thus giving the local community effective fiscal control over the project. Secondly, the grant was short term. There was no intention or desire to again establish a long-term dependency on an institution of higher education. The project was funded at \$130,000 and the full complement of the Universidad's curriculum was back in full operation by October,

with one major difference. The students, teachers, staff, and community began to set priorities based on shared, long-term reflection on their goals and their assumptions.

Epilogue

A critical analysis of the role of schooling had been forced upon Universidad Popular by the struggles of the past eight years. The program had not merely survived; it had for the first time been born. Becoming liberatory and overcoming the contradictions of the past, would be a never ending task, occupying students, staff, and board members in the years to come. But a door had been opened and a few had already passed through. In the rarified air of independence, nothing could be assumed. All would open to reevaluation and critique. In many ways the struggle was just beginning.

INDEX OF NAMES

Aquilar, Carmen, 31, 44
Argott, Elias, 24, 25, 26, 27
Barbosa, Manuel, 16, 18
 resigns, 21
 staff report, 17
Bayer, Carolyn, 24, 30, 34, 37, 43
 accused by Shabat
 first call, 35
 second call, 36
 accuses CUSI, 37
 becomes director of Universidad Popular, 32
 elected board president, 43
 resigns as director of Universidad Popular, 38
Berlanga, Rosa, 21, 25, see Sanchez, Rosa
Bruno, Iris, 25, 29, 30, 32
 resigns, 32
Camacho, Juanita, 33, 37, 39, 43
Cullerton, Representative Dan, 42
Del Valle, Ken, 8, 9, 10
Espinosa, Gustavo, 38, 43
Flores, Manuel, 41
Flores, Rev. Finees, 4, 19, 23
 chairs Blue Ribbon Committee, 42
 fires Rehbein, 12
 resigns, 20
Franco, Lydia, 16
Frontany, Hilda, 27, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43
 becomes president of board, 33
Gonzales, Martha, 10
 charges against, 12
 resigns, 16
 women's program, 16
Gutierrez Vargas, Jose, 20, 23, 24
 staff and board reorganization, 21
Guzman, Betty, 31, 41
Heaney, Thomas, 1, 16, 20, 22, 27, 43, 44
 report on weekend retreat, 18
 transferred to CUSI, 21
Hernandez, Jorge, 41
Horton, Aimee, 1, 7, 8, 16, 22, 44
 Woodstock Foundation, 17
Hutchison, Peyton, 19, 25, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42
Jaramillo, Yolanda, 44
Kyle, Charles, 24, 27, 35, 38, 42, 43
Langdon, Thomas, 12, 13, 18
 resigns, 21
 staff report, 17
Levin, Representative Ellis, 42
Lopez, Edwin, 21
 resigns, 25
Lugo-Gonzalez, Miriam, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43

Mangual, Ricardo, 27, 29, 32
 Margolies, Rick, 18
 Medina, Margarita, 25, 27
 resigns, 33
 Merlo, Alderman John, 42
 Montenegro, Mariana, 41
 Netch, Senator Dawn Clark, 42
 Nichols, Sr. Mary Rose, 16
 Peraza, Omar, 18
 report on alternate high school, 19
 resigns, 21
 Perez Varela, Franklyn, 28
 Rehbein, Klaus, 11, 12
 disruption of classes, 12
 Rienzo, Gregory, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16, 17
 at Industrial Areas Foundation, 11
 reaction to weekend retreat, 18
 resigns, 18
 staff report, 17
 Romero, Pepe, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 33, 34, 37, 39, 43
 develop Spanish program, 31
 fired by Lugo-Gonzalez, 41
 named executive director, 43
 Rotella, Salvatore, 42
 Sanchez, Rosa, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, see Berlanga, Rosa
 first executive director, 29
 Saracho, Javier, 24, 27, 30, 34, 37, 39, 41
 becomes board president, 32
 becomes executive director, 33
 develop Spanish program, 31
 Radiothon, 33
 song: De que lado estas?, 37
 Shabat, Oscar, 6, 23, 27, 29, 30, 36, 38, 40, 42
 alleges subversive activity, 35
 at Chicago Bible College, 4
 closes St. Mary's, 30
 meeting of December 18, 38
 receives complaints of political involvement, 15
 Slutski, Irv, 27
 Soler, Samuel, 21, 23, 25, 30, 33, 37
 becomes a regional director of CUSI, 25
 Soto, Maura, 31, 33, 37
 Stanton, Dick, 42
 Valdez, Lidia, 16
 Velasquez, Miguel, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
 resignation, 11
 Vidella, Gabriel, 44
 Yates, Congressman Sydney, 42
 Zucker, Cindy, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 34

INDEX TO HISTORICAL MATERIALS RELATING TO
UNIVERSIDAD POPULAR
1971-1983

1971

- Undated** **FIRST LOOP COLLEGE PROPOSAL**
Describes history of Una Puerta Abierta (UPA) and Loop College involvement, including prior workshops offered by Loop in Lakeview community such as Nuestra Comunidad. Funded by spring, 1972.

1972

- Undated** **MEMO: BRUCE YOUNG TO UP BOARD**
History of UPA's involvement with adult basic education, volunteer teachers, and Hull House's receipt of Junior League funding in 1970-71 for an educational specialist (Myrta Ramirez) to coordinate volunteers.
- Undated** **NOTICE: AIMEE HORTON RE: SPACE NEEDS**
Seeks space from Lakeview Methodist Church for UP. First location: Chicago Bible College (see **LETTER: FLORES TO MEADE, 9 Oct 72**) at 1043 School Street until December 1972. Then moved to 1005 West Belmont in former bank premises (see **LEASE, 21 Nov 72**).
- Undated** **PROGRAM DESCRIPTION/PROPOSAL**
Written by Miguel Velasquez.
- 24 Aug** **AGENDA AND ATTACHMENTS: MEETING WITH SHABAT**
First crisis: CCC attempts to transfer UP to Chicago Skills Center and the supervision of James Broman. Community demands and obtains commitment for autonomy with accountability to Loop College.
- October** **PROPOSAL: COMMUNITY SERVICE FUNDS***
First proposal for funds independent of Chicago Skills Center. Describes non-educational functions of UP.
- 3 Oct** **PROPOSAL: LAKEVIEW LATIN AMERICAN COALITION (FOR BUILDING)***
Describes need for building to house combined services for Hispanic community: Centro Latino.
- 20 Oct** **MEMO: HEZNEY TO HOLDERMAN**
First statement of goals for UP.
- 7 Dec** **MINUTES**
UP now at 1005 Belmont. Staff is Miguel Velasquez (director), Gregory Rienzo (community coordinator), and Ken del Valle (educational coordinator). Rienzo was on Hull House payroll until 5 December (Junior League funds), then transferred to Loop College. Ken resigns (see **LETTER: RIENZO TO VELASQUEZ, 7 Dec 72**)

This index lists, in chronological order, major documents relating the history of Universidad Popular from its founding in 1972 until 1982. These documents are bound in three volumes and maintained at the center. The index does not include all records on file for this period.

* **PROPOSALS** marked with an asterisk are filed in a separate, fourth binder.

1973

- January** **REVISED GRANT BUDGET**
Showing funds administered by Chicago Skills Center.
- 7 Jan** **MEMO: RIENZO TO VELASQUEZ**
Contributes pay check to Universidad Popular.
- 23 Feb** **MEMO: RIENZO TO ADVISORY BOARD**
Explains historical involvement with PROPA and LOPA.
- 28 Feb** **MEMO: FLORES TO ADVISORY BOARD OF UP**
Ken to be replaced by Martha Gonzales
- 7 Mar** **PRELIMINARY REPORT: EVALUATION**
Committee evaluation of first six months of UP. By this date, the "Centro Latino" concept was informally adopted, bringing together UPA, Lakeview Mental Health, and UP. UP was paying rent for all three and staff energy diverted from UP programs to managing the Center. The new space at 1005 Belmont was unusable for classes because of code violations. Thus classes were dispersed over the community.
- 3 Mar** **MEMO: SITE COMMITTEE TO JUNTA**
Recommends formalizing relationship between UPA and UP.
- 9 Mar** **LETTER: VELASQUEZ TO MARGARITA GONZALEZ (UPA)**
UP starts to collect rent from UPA.
- 12 Mar** **MEMO: RIENZO TO VELASQUEZ**
Expresses staff concern about board's failure to accept responsibility for major problems besetting program. Urges development of a student council with representatives on the board. Tensions among the staff are evident.
- 16 Mar** **MEMO: SITE COMMITTEE TO LA JUNTA**
Urges strengthening Centro Latino by keeping three organizations together in a move to 3223 North Sheffield.
- 30 Mar** **MEMO: FLORES TO BOARD**
Announces meeting to discuss the first by-laws for Centro Latino.
- 5 May** **MINUTES**
Shabat receives first complaints about UP's political involvement (with the IPO). Argott recommends a letter to Shabat stressing UP's role in the community. Also, state is threatening to cut community service funds. UP resolves to fight cutbacks with other Loop College projects (see **MEMO: HORTON TO PROJECT DIRECTORS, 9 May 73**).
- 15 May** **LEASE: MESSICK CONSTRUCTION**
Move to 3225 North Sheffield (also see **LEASE** for UPA space and for additional UP space at the Mendieta site, 1143 West Belmont, 1 Jun 73). Actual move is on 15 June (see **STAFF REPORT: RIENZO, 15 Jun 73**).
- 15 May** **MEMO: RIENZO TO FLORES**
Follow up to **MEMO** (23 Feb).
- 16 May** **STAFF REPORT: RIENZO**
Critique of UP based on Freirean principles. List of current com-

munity involvements. Alludes to Martha Gonzales organizing a women's group.

- June** **STATEMENT OF PURPOSE**
Page 2 indicates operating budget for 1972-3 was \$26,000 from the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and \$33,613 from Illinois Junior College Board (community service funds). Emphasizes how CP classes differ from other, regular C&D and ESL classes.
- 15 Jun** **STAFF REPORT: RIENZO**
Critique of problems besetting program, especially integrating the skills curriculum with the political context of the people. Includes suggestions for improvement.
- 27 Jun** **MEMO: RIENZO TO FLORES**
Rienzo to take three months leave of absence to receive training at Industrial Areas Foundation, leave to begin 29 June (see **LETTER: RIENZO TO FLORES, 30 May 73**).
- 17 Jul** **RECOMMENDATIONS: "AD HOC" COMMITTEE TO LA JUNTA**
Recommends staff reorganization in order to resolve tensions: three co-equal directorships or coordinators: administration, education, and community. Specific job descriptions and qualifications are provided for each. Junta would be charged with the direct supervision of staff and resolution of disputes. This plan is criticized by the staff (see **NOTES, 23 Jul 73**), but is subsequently adopted by the board (see **MINUTES, 3 Dec 73**).
- 6 Aug** **MINUTES**
Indicates that Klaus Rehbein has been hired temporarily to replace Greg Rienzo. Velasquez and Rehbein object to staff reorganization. Gonzales supports reorganization. Velasquez resigns to attend law school, but requests to be continued as a part-time teacher (see **LETTER: VELASQUEZ TO JUNTA, 13 Aug 73**). Resignation is effective 30 September (see **LETTER: FLORES TO RIENZO, 12 Sep 73**).
- 10 Sep** **STAFF REPORT: VELASQUEZ**
Confusion concerning staff authority vis-a-vis City Colleges. Indicates that Hull House funds expire at end of 1973, hence the need for fund raising. Hull House funds later extended at least until February 1974 (see **STAFF REPORT: LANGDON, 31 Dec 73**).
- 17 Sep** **MINUTES**
Position of administrative coordinator to be advertised. Rehbein expects to be offered the appointment.) Martha Gonzales is put on probation for two week, having been accused of "chronic tardiness."
- 27 Sep** **STAFF REPORT: REHBEIN**
Urges incorporation of Centro Latino and petition for not for profit status in order to effectively raise funds. Includes full page and a half of charges against Martha Gonzales. Rehbein, in this report, assumes the role of administrative director.
- 3 Oct** **LETTER: RIENZO TO FLORES**
Rienzo back from leave. Martha Gonzales, despite Rehbein's protests, is appointed acting administrative coordinator while the search continues for a permanent coordinator.
- 26 Oct** **OPEN LETTER: FROM JUNTA**
Explains Klaus Rehbein affair which had by this time occasioned student and staff protest. Tom Langdon is chosen as administrative coordinator (finalized on 29 October). Rehbein had been supported

in his candidacy by Velasquez. Classes were disrupted in the aftermath (see **MEMO: FLORES TO ALL STAFF**, 13 Nov 73; for further account, see **LA RAZA**, 17 Nov 73).

- 5 Nov **STAFF REPORT: RIENZO**
First "consejo de estudieantes" formed. Two delegates to Junta chosen. Sr. Mary Rose Nichols joins UP staff as a graduate intern from Circle to organize women's activities. (For additional information on women's program relative to health issues, see **STAFF REPORT: NICHOLS**, 3 Dec 73.)
- 11 Nov **LETTER: LANGDON TO JUNTA**
Requests contract, improved communications and consultation prior to Junta decision-making, audit of files and fiscal records, suspension of petty cash, staff representation on junta without vote (equal to student representation).
- 30 Nov **MEMO: TEACHERS TO JUNTA**
Requests representation on Junta with vote. Request denied by Junta (see **MINUTES**, 3 DEC 73).
- 28 Dec **MEMO: GONZALES TO JUNTA**
Martha resigns, due to husband's poor health.
- 1974
- 11 Feb **MINUTES**
Manuel Barbosa hired to replace Martha. Klaus Rehbein affair brought to a close. Fire at UP on 3 February (see **STAFF REPORT: RIENZO**, 1 Mar 74); facility reopened and classes resumed on 13 February.
- 29 Mar **STAFF REPORT: LANGDON**
Additional information on fire (also see **LETTER: LANGDON TO MESSICK**, 26 Apr 74), finances, adaptation of "St. Mary's model" to UP, that is, seek accreditation of an alternative high school program at UP through St. Marys. Seeks a board/staff retreat to allow for full discussion of UP's purposes and future direction.
- 29 Mar **STAFF REPORT: BARBOSA**
St. Mary's agrees to accredit a 'pilot' program at UP.
- 1 Apr **LAKEVIEW COMMUNITY (By Dr. Corruthers)**
Historical and demographic data on community and Centro Latino including UP (see pages 5-9).
- 1 Apr **STAFF REPORT: RIENZO**
First efforts to develop Food Coop at UP with support of Loop College's Food Coop Project. UP translates sound track for "Coop Story." Workshop on Media in Adult Education convened by Heaney and Horton on 28 March.
- 1 Apr **MINUTES**
Argott questions UP participation in 44th Ward Assembly (too political). Board plans for a board/staff retreat to include all components of Centro Latino.
- 29 Apr **STAFF REPORT: FRANCO/VALDEZ**
First paid staff of women's program. Activities include cancer screening, food coop organizing. Funding for program obtained through Lakeview Latin American Coalition (see **MEMO: NICHOLS TO JUNTA**, 2 May 74).

30 Apr **STAFF REPORT: LANGDON**
Enrollment up to 370 with 120 on waiting list. Expresses frustration with board's careless neglect of input from staff. UP staff rejects proposal for weekend with all Centro Latino components. Had requested weekend for UP.

6 May **MINUTES**
Fineses Flores announces intention to resign as president of Junta.

24 May **MINUTES: JOINT STAFF MEETING OF CENTRO LATINO**
Identifies problems with board and makes suggestion to strengthen it. Formalized in written form (see **MEMO: JOINT STAFFS TO JUNTA**, 4 Jun 74).

June **PROPOSAL: BOARD/STAFF WEEKEND**
Outlines goals for a residential weekend.

June **PARA ESTUDIANTES Y CUERPO DOCENTE**
Describes program, its origins and plans for the future.

5 Jun **LETTER: LANGDON TO MESSICK**
Documents ongoing problems with building (see also **LETTER: LANGDON TO MESSICK**, 26 Apr 74, 11 Jun 74, 19 Jun 74).

6 Jun **PROGRESS REPORT: ALTERNATIVE HIGH SCHOOL**

10 Jun **MINUTES**
Recommendations of staff accepted in principle, including revision of by-laws (see **BY-LAWS**, July 74). For written response, see **MEMO: JUNTA TO STAFF**, 12 Jun 74.

10 Jun **STAFF REPORT: LANGDON**
Further charges against board. Reference to a Report on Alternate High School pilot project (not in files). Seeks clarification of several personnel matters (see **MEMO: PERSONNEL COMMITTEE TO LANGDON**, 11 Jul 74).

15 Jun **STAFF REPORT: BARBOSA**
Staff in-service workshop on liberatory education and Freire, led by Rienzo. Alternate high school pilot project set to begin with 15 students.

16 Jun **LETTER: RIENZO TO FLORES**
Announces resignation to attend Tulane University, effective 16 August 1974 (see **LETTER: RIENZO TO FLORES**, 14 Jul 74).

19 Jun **LETTER: FLORES TO SHABAT**
Invitation to first anniversary of formation of Centro Latino to be held 29-30 June.

22 Jun **LETTER: MARGOLIS TO RIENZO**
Plans for board/staff weekend.

July **BY-LAWS (Revised Draft)**

2 Jul **LETTER: MARGOLIS TO RIENZO**
Further plans for weekend.

8 Jul **STAFF REPORT: LANGDON**
Recommends replace community coordinator with two or more part time persons, one being Sr. Rose Nichols who recently completed her

internship.

- 8 Jul **MINUTES**
First board/staff retreat set for Woodstock, Illinois, 26-28 July.
- 11 Jul **MEMO: PERSONNEL COMMITTEE TO LANGDON**
Response to concerns in June staff report. Langdon responds to response (see **MEMO: LANGDON TO PERSONNEL COMMITTEE, 7 Aug 74**).
- 12 Jul **JOB DESCRIPTION: COMMUNITY COORDINATOR**
- 26 Jul **NOTES: RESIDENTIAL WEEKEND**
Transcription of notes taken on newsprint by participants during the weekend.
- 26 JUL **REPORT: RESIDENTIAL WEEKEND**
Evaluation of the weekend prepared by Heaney. (See **LETTER: RIENZO TO HORTON, 4 AUG 74**)
- 12 Aug **MINUTES**
Manuel Barbosa switches to community coordinator position, replacing Greg Rienzo. Education coordinator position now vacant. Establishes procedure of formal board reports (alla board of trustees of the city colleges) as a means of board/staff communications. Flores again emphasizes his intention to resign. Attempts made to clarify roles and responsibilities of the board.
- 21 Aug **LETTER: MARGOLIES TO UNIVERSIDAD POPULAR**
Response to **REPORT** (26 July).
- 22 Aug **MEMO: GUTIERREZ-VARGAS TO JUNTA**
Recommends employment of Omar Peraza as education coordinator. (G-V is chair of personnel committee.)
- 7 Sep **STAFF REPORT: LANGDON**
More on planning for alternate high school pilot at UP and its impact on the ESL classes. Argues in support of move to larger facility. Rent at 3225 Sheffield is now \$850/month. Expresses anger over the process used to select education coordinator (which excluded staff input) and the board's total disregard of plans for the alternate high school in selecting a candidate.
- 5 Oct **COMPARATIVE STUDY: GED/ALTERNATIVE HIGH SCHOOL**
- 15 Oct **MINUTES**
Lydia Valdez and Lidia Franco resign. Argott suggests more wages as an incentive to keep them on staff. (See also, **STAFF REPORT: VALDEZ, 31 Oct 74; MINUTES, 2 Nov 74**.)
- 30 Oct **STAFF REPORT: PERAZA**
Urges Junta to encourage participation of students in its deliberations.
- 2 Nov **MINUTES**
Sr. Mary Nichols and Heredilia Varela now coordinators of the women's program and urge transfer of program from the Coalition to UP. Notes that two positions on the Junta have been open to students; Langdon should let the students know this. José Gutierrez-Vargas elected president; Elias Argott, vice-president.
- 2 Nov **STAFF REPORT: LANGDON**
Difficulties "selling" tacked on conscientization courses to parti-

cipants in the ESL and GED curricula. "We are not known for offering courses like that..." Bank account opened for Centro Latino at Belmont National Bank. New student council is formed. (See **MINUTES: ASAMBLEA ESTUDIANTEL**, 14 Nov 74, 16 Nov 74.)

7 Dec **MINUTES**
Manuel Flores' (a teacher) qualifications challenged by Mario de Juan. Defended by Barbosa and Langdon.

1975

January **PROPOSAL: UNITED METHODIST***

6 Jan **LETTER: FLORES TO SHABAT**
Requests exception for five teachers from eleven hour limit. Request granted (see **LETTER: LANGDON TO HUTCHISON**, 16 Jan 75 and **STAFF REPORT: LANGDON**, 8 Jan 75).

8 Jan **STAFF REPORT: LANGDON**
Shabat suggests moving UP to soon-to-be-opened Truman College.

11 Jan **STAFF REPORT: DIRECTIVA DE LA COOPERATIVA DE ALIMENTOS**
Proposal to Junta for organization of food coop.

29 Jan **STAFF REPORT: MARIA CINTRON**
Cintron is coordinator of women's program as of this date.

1 Feb **MINUTES**
First efforts by Barbosa to start theater group with Arts Council funding.

1 Feb **STAFF REPORT: LANGDON**
Recommends supplementing salaries of teachers with UP funds.

18 Feb **LETTER: HEANEY TO VARGAS**
City Colleges uses Junta to seek funding without notifying board (see **CCC PROPOSAL (HECA)**, 18 Feb 75; **LETTER: ROTELLA TO HEANEY**, 10 Feb 75; for response see 7 March below).

28 Feb **ANNUAL REPORT: DISADVANTAGED STUDENT PROGRAMS**
Enrollment at 870 in ESL and 95 in GED. No one taking the GED exam failed. This is a superior rating for the city. Problem-solving mentioned (not emphasized) with focus on services of Centro Latino components. Uniqueness of UP found in ESL methods and scheduling, as well as social/community context for learning (page 4). Budget: \$200,000.

28 Feb **STAFF REPORT: PERAZA**
Criticizes program for failure to be liberatory. Identifies need for more involvement of students, move to larger facility, and arrange for college credit courses at UP.

7 Mar **LETTER: VARGAS TO ROTELLA**
Objects to being named as "advisors" to a project on which the Junta's advice was not sought.

10 Mar **LETTER: PERAZA TO VARGAS**
Peraza resigns effective 31 May 1975. (Later extended two weeks, see **MINUTES**, 4 May 75.)

2 Apr **STAFF REPORT: PERAZA**
Recommends discontinuing education coordinator position "because

program is established..." Funds could be used to increase more teachers to twenty hours.

- 4 Apr **STAFF REPORT: BARBOSA**
Requests Junta evaluate coordinating staff.
- 12 Apr **MINUTES**
Adelante joins Centro Latino. Decision made to seek a new education coordinator, despite Peraza's objections. Attaches first report on plans for incorporating Centro Latino. No action on incorporation taken.
- 27 Apr **MEMO: VARGAS TO JUNTA**
Establishes the Junta's committee structure and membership: executive, personnel and evaluation, finance and incorporation, sites and services, nominations and membership.
- 1 May **LETTER: VARGAS TO SHABAT**
Enlists aid of chancellor in reversing the CCC budget reductions proposed for UP (reduction to previous year's levels, without UP's proposed increase. (For response, see **LETTER: SHABAT TO VARGAS**, 27 May 75.)
- 25 May **MEMO: VARGAS TO COORDINATORS**
Demands more complete written monthly reports to be distributed to the Junta before the next meeting on 7 June.
- 27 May **LETTER: SHABAT TO TIMM (Coalition)**
Community service grants limited to \$10,000 per project. Blue Ribbon Committee has recommended elimination of such funds altogether. Hence little left for UP.
- 27 May **STAFF REPORT: PERAZA**
Angry that education coordinator not appointed yet and that he was not consulted by Langdon in development of 1976 budget. Also angry at "extremely negative conditions" at UP. Alludes to not having the five 20 hour teachers promised by the chancellor.
- 30 May **STAFF REPORT: BARBOSA**
Angry about added paper work (lengthy report to Junta). Manuel Flores now president of student council and representative to the Junta (see **STAFF REPORT: BARBOSA**, May 1975).
- 7 Jun **MINUTES**
Each member contributes \$1 to raise \$25 for incorporation fee. Some members want Ron Guzman off the board. Stated rationale: he lives outside the city. Barbosa calls for revision of by-laws. (Original draft still in force. See **BY-LAWS**, July 74.) Heaney's position threatened at city colleges; Junta to send letters of support to Shabat.
- 7 Jun **STAFF REPORT: LANGDON**
Need to reinstate twenty hour teachers by means of meeting with Shabat (see **LETTER: LANGDON/PERAZA TO HUTCHISON**, 19 Dec 75, probably misdated). Urges payment of teachers from Centro Latino funds for time spent in group planning. Indicates his desire to resign. Attaches last public service grant awarded to UP.
- 8 Jul **STAFF REPORT: BARBOSA**
Discusses limited participation of Puerto Ricans in UP program.

- 11 Jul **MEMO: TEACHERS TO ARGOTT (Chair of Personnel)**
Requests input in selection of education coordinator and asks that results of their evaluation be made known to them.
- 12 Jul **MINUTES**
Recommendations of teachers accepted, but meanwhile... Samuel Soler is chosen as new education coordinator. Maria Figueroa (coordinator of the women's program) is terminated. Argott recommends that new by-laws provide for four students on the Junta, with one student being a vice-president.
- 23 Jul **ARTICLE OF INCORPORATION**
- 2 Aug **MINUTES**
Soler introduced. Barbosa resigns effective 30 August. Petition from students and teachers for child care; committee established to deal with this. Board member (Weinstein) objects to involvement of staff or anyone other than board members in rewriting the by-laws. Reelection of board members for additional terms undertaken by secret, written ballot. Meeting ends with much business left on the agenda.
- 2 Aug **BOARD REPORT: SITE AND SERVICES**
CUSI being helpful in providing clerical support for paper work.
- 2 Aug **BOARD REPORT: FUNDING**
CUSI provides a petty cash fund. Impossible to maintain books since transfer to CUSI (said transfer having occurred prior to this date). All records now maintained at Institute.
- 6 Sep **MINUTES**
Vargas states that UP is not component of Centro Latino according to Articles of Incorporation, but of CUSI! Heaney objects to heavy-handed posture of the Junta and recommends increasing student participation on board, staff and teacher representation on the board, and staff restructuring (before additional staff be hired). Nonetheless, Argott recommends hiring Edwin Lopez as community coordinator (to replace Barbosa); Lopez had been interviewed for the education coordinator position earlier when Soler was selected. Lopez hired for six months probationary period, with understanding that reorganization of the staff is being contemplated. Soler objects to lack of staff involvement in all of this. Soler named acting administrative coordinator, given Langdon's announced resignation. Discusses at length controversies over bank accounts, signatories on checking accounts, and student funds. Signatory transferred from Langdon/Flores to Mario de Juan, treasurer.
- 15 Sep **BOARD REPORT: PERSONNEL**
Javier Saracho hired as teacher.
- 15 Oct **MEMO: PERSONNEL COMMITTEE TO STAFF AND JUNTA**
Details proposal for staff reorganization: director, associate director, assistant to the director. Accepted at November board meeting.
- 1 Nov **MINUTES**
Evidence of board tension. Chair (Vargas) suggests present officers to be reelected for additional year. Fines Flores objects on constitutional grounds and procedures. Motion carried three to three with Vargas breaking the tie.

- 10 Mar **CONSTITUTION OF LAKEVIEW LATIN AMERICAN COALITION**
- 15 Apr **BOARD REPORT: REGISTRATION AND COURSES**
New student council formed by a general assembly of students. New representatives to Junta chosen. 180 books from Chicago Public Library lost.
- 19 Apr **QUARTERLY REPORT**
Identifies as shortcomings: lack of space, lack of typewriters, and lack of a language lab.
- 15 Jun **BOARD REPORT: REGISTRATION**
Jann Jones (Uptown Education Center) provides typewriters. Women's program inactive because of lack of coordinator (Lydia can no longer work as a volunteer).
- 10 Jul **MINUTES**
Lowell Shurman replaces Heaney (who now is on the faculty at Northern) as CUSI supervisor of UP. Junta agrees to send letter to Shabat protesting Horton's removal as Dean of Center for Continuing Education at City-Wide College.
- 15 Jul **BOARD REPORT: BUDGET**
Gov. Walker vetoes HB1650 which provided community service grants. Need to fight for override. (See **EL MANANA**, 4 Aug 76.)
- 31 Jul **FINANCIAL REPORT: 4TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION**
Irofit is \$2,578.
- 15 Aug **BOARD REPORT: REGISTRATION**
Women's program in danger. Priority is keeping teachers for sewing classes.
- 27 Aug **POLICY STATEMENTS FOR TEACHERS**
In preparation for meeting with teachers on same date.
- 14 Sep **LETTER: STAFF TO JUNTA**
Objects to inaction and irresponsibility of board. Calls for new board members, including "grass-roots" representation of the community, and swift action on the reorganization and funding crisis facing UP. Elias Argott (vice-president) responded by calling a special meeting of the board, noting he has been unable to communicate with the president for two months (see **LETTER: ARGOTT**, 17 Sep 76. For incomplete record of meeting, see **MINUTES**, 23 Sep 76).
- 15 Oct **BOARD REPORT: REGISTRATION**
Women's program receives grant of \$2,700 from United Methodist Church. \$50,000 to be granted to UP by Title IA, HEA, through the city colleges.
- 7 Dec **MEMO: UP STAFF TO VELASQUEZ (CCC Trustee)**
Expresses need for rent (\$16,000) not covered in pending Title IA grant, need for "slots" for students in the vocational skills program of the Dawson Center, and improvement of general communications with CUSI. Indicates that Argott is now the board president. (NOTE: His election presumably occurred at the November board meeting for which no minutes are on file.)

1977

NOTE: Nothing is on file from 3 January until 15 August 1977. During this period, Samuel Soler became a regional director for CUSI, Edwin

Lopez resigned or was terminated, and Rosa Berlanga became the director of UP. Title IA funding is continued through 30 June 1978 at \$51,400.

- 17 May **MEMO: BERLANGA TO CRAWFORD (CUI, Personnel)**
Open position of administrative assistant.
- NOTE:** At some point Iris Bruno becomes the Associate Director and Margarita Medina, Assistant Director. Records indicating when these events occurred are not on file.
- 12 Dec **MEMO: BERLANGA TO BRADY (CUI)**
Ongoing problems with Messick and building. (For followup see **MEMO: SANCHEZ TO HUTCHISON, 3 Feb 78**; **LETTER: SANCHEZ TO SLUTSKY, 14 Feb 78**.) The Junta is now known as the Council of Regents.
- 1978
- 13 Jan **MINUTES**
New officers elected: Ricardo Mangual is president; Javier Saracho, secretary; Adela Weinstein, treasurer. Jose Romero first mentioned (as present at meeting). Board is reestablished (see **LETTER: SANCHEZ/MANGUAL TO HUTCHISON, 8 Feb 78**).
- 3 Feb **MEMO: SANCHEZ TO HUTCHISON**
Rosa assumes her former name: Sanchez.
- 24 Feb **MINUTES**
Discusses whether to give students (non-board members) a voice at meetings of the board. Recommends putting all accounts under Centro Latino.
- 14 Apr **MEMO: MEDINA/ROMERO TO SANCHEZ**
Notes discrepancy between CUI's claims for reimbursement from state and UP's actual figures.
- 14 Apr **MEMO: TEACHERS TO BOARD**
States teachers expectations and goals in relation to funding, administration, and organization.
- 14 Apr **STAFF REPORT: SANCHEZ**
Notes having begun aggressive pursuit of funding.
- 14 Apr **PROPOSAL: CHICAGO COMMUNITY TRUST***
- 26 Jun **EVALUATION: FRANKLYN VARELA**
Based on surveys and interviews with students, staff, board, and community, reports need for further clarity of purpose, better communications between staff and administration, effective liaison within the city colleges, student orientation and counseling, and improved facilities including a library.
- 19 Sep **MEMO: SANCHEZ TO STAFF**
Responds to objections to "sign-in" procedures. Reaffirms policy.
- 1 Nov **LETTER: MANGUAL TO SHABAT**
Rosa Sanchez is being switched from CCC payroll to payroll of Centro Latino (with funding from the Chicago Community Trust). Shabat responds, the director of UP has to be on CCC payroll (see **LETTER: SHABAT TO MANGUAL, 3 Nov 78**).

- 20 Nov **MINUTES**
Argott insists that students unauthorized to vote. He leaves meeting. Board asks Iris Bruno to be "director" in compliance with Shabat's letter. Decision to have Rosa Sanchez be executive director of Centro Latino and Iris be director of UP communicated to Shabat (see **LETTER: MANGUAL TO SHABAT**, 1 Dec 78 and **LETTER: SHABAT TO MANGUAL**, 14 Dec 78).
- 13 Dec **LETTER: TEACHERS TO SHABAT/JUNTA/SOLER**
Asks who are the UP administrators and what are their duties. And furthermore, how can they get CTA passes! For response to first question, see **MEMO: SANCHEZ TO TEACHERS**, 21 Dec 78.
- 1979
- 23 Jan **MEMO: SANCHEZ**
Summarizes job description, organization and lines of communication within UP and Centro Latino.
- 15 Feb **BY-LAWS (Revised)**
- 19 Feb **EMPLOYMENT REPORT**
Lists all current employees.
- 2 Mar **LETTER: MANGUAL TO SANCHEZ**
Announces his resignation as president of board.
- 9 Mar **BY-LAWS (Revised again)**
- 2 Apr **HEALTH FAIR 79**
- 11 Apr **LETTER: SARACHO TO SHABAT**
Javier is president of board as of 19 March. Iris Bruno resigns effective 13 April. Points out delays in posting the position of director and sets timetable for selection process. (For response, see **LETTER: SHABAT TO SARACHO**, 12 Apr 79.)
- 3 May **REPORT**
Carolyn Bayer is chosen as new UP director.
- 17 May **MINUTES**
Rosa resigns to go to law school effective 15 June 1979. Process for selecting replacement is discussed. Javier is named acting executive director of Centro Latino (to be paid with unexpended Trust funds) until one year's salary can be raised. Instituto para el Progreso Latino is trying to be reconciled with CUSI (after the St. Mary's program was shut out of Malcolm X College), and explores affiliation with Centro Latino. Carolyn Bayer notes that her salary has been set by CUSI considerably lower than the salary of previous directors.
- 5 Jun **BOARD LIST**
Omits Javier from list (Javier is now executive director).
- 5 Jun **LETTER: FRONTANY TO SHABAT**
(NOTE: Hilda Frontany is listed as president in future correspondence except for **LETTER**, 27 Jul 79.) Thank chancellor for correcting Carolyn's salary.
- 6 Jun **APPLICATION FOR TAX EXEMPT STATUS**
(See also **LETTER: TO IRS**, 18 Sep 79.)

14 Jun **MINUTES**

17 Jul **LETTER: IMBERT TO BAYER**
Sun-Times grants \$1,000 to UP.

19 Jul **PERSONNEL POLICIES (Draft)**
(See **PERSONNEL POLICIES**, 16 Jan 80.)

27 Jul **LETTER: SARACHO TO SHABAT**
Responds to chancellors query about use of Lakeview H.S. for UP.

28 Jul **LETTER: BOONE TO TELLEZ**
\$3,000 received from Britannica for testing Encounter English series.

6 Aug **NOTES: SARACHO**
Preliminary planning of SEA.

15 Aug **MINUTES**
Student council reconstituted (see **NOTICE TO UP BOARD**, 6 Aug 79), representatives to attend next meeting.

19 Sep **MINUTES**
Students work to raise funds for language lab. CCC willing to rent rooms at St. Sebastian's. Discussion of relationship between UP and Centro Latino in response to questions from a student who saw Centro Latino as unnecessary and a liability to UP. (See **LETTER: SARACHO TO STUDENTS**, 11 Oct 79.) Begins search to replace Medina who resigns effective 30 November (see **STAFF REPORT: BAYER**, 19 Sep 79; **LETTER: MEDINA TO BAYER**, 27 Sep 79).

19 Sep **STAFF REPORT: SARACHO**
Proposes three levels of Spanish courses to generate additional income for UP and build a relationship with the community. First contact made on 1041 Belmont site.

3 Oct **LETTER: ESPINOSA TO SHABAT**
Sets timetable for replacement of Medina. Shabat accepts (see **LETTER: SHABAT TO ESPINOSA**, 5 Oct 79; **LETTER: GUY TO BAYER**, 22 Oct 79).

12 Oct **LETTER: SARACHO TO EARL**
Requests three VISTA volunteers (see **PROPOSAL**, 9 Oct 79).

17 Oct **MINUTES**
Conflict with student council over role of Centro Latino grows. Council refuses to turn over \$1500 raised on behalf of UP for language lab. Board insists that funds be deposited in Centro Latino account.

26 Oct **LETTER: SARACHO TO WEAD**
Proposal to Community Renewal Society for a building.

21 Nov **MINUTES**
Appointment of Juanita Camacho as assistant director is approved (see **LETTER: FRONTANY TO HUTCHISON**, 26 Nov 79). Accounting procedures in chaos. Discussion of need for space-needs analysis prior to purchase of a building.

5 Dec **LETTER: RAY (Attorney) TO PUPILLO (IRS)**
Conveys additional information concerning tax exempt request.

- 19 Dec **PERSONNEL MANUAL (Preliminary Draft)**
- 1980
- 2 Jan **TAX EXEMPT LETTER**
- 16 Jan **MINUTES**
Board agrees to proposed space-needs study preliminary to architectural survey of building at School and Wilton Streets. Introduces draft of personnel policies and proposed criteria for selection of board members.
- 30 Jan **PROPOSAL: CAMPAIGN FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT***
Seeking funds for a building.
- 11 Feb **LETTER OF AGREEMENT: LVCC AND UP**
Concerning placement of two VISTA organizers (see **STAFF REPORT: SARACHO**, 16 Jan 80; **MEMO: WESTTOWN COALITION TO UP**, 28 Jan 80; **LETTER: EARL TO SARACHO**, 23 Jan 80; **PROPOSAL: VISTA**, 9 Oct 79).
- 20 Feb **MINUTES**
Notes rumor (heard from Samuel Soler) that CCC funds to UP to be cut off entirely at end of year.
- 19 Mar **MINUTES**
UPA is about to move from 3225 No. Sheffield. Financial crisis at UP with not enough money to cover salaries for the month.
- 19 Mar **STAFF REPORT: BAYER**
Juanita Camacho completes probation and is recommended as permanent assistant director.
- 3 Apr **MINUTES**
False alarm! Financial crisis is only on paper--a result of faulty bookkeeping. Records now show sufficient cash on hand.
- 21 May **MINUTES**
Indicates that Shabat recently visited UP. Pepe suspects sabotage of Spanish Classes by UP secretary (result of UP/Centro Latino tensions). Discusses fringe benefits for employees (including CUSI teachers), insurance, and payment for preparation time for part-time teachers. Recommendation to be prepared, including financial information.
- 23 May **LETTER: SARACHO TO IRS**
Asks forgiveness for tardy 990 form.
- 10 Jun **LETTER: SHABAT TO SARACHO**
Pledges full support in request for CHD funds. Identifies UP as "educational branch" of Centro Latino and "as part of the City Colleges."
- 15 Jun **STAFF REPORT: SARACHO**
Meeting of all components of Centro Latino scheduled for 2 June.
- 15 Jul **MEMO: BAYER TO PEPE/JAVIER/JUANITA**
Concerning internal tensions dividing UP and Centro Latino. Suggests specific steps to relieve tensions. (See also **STAFF REPORT: SARACHO**, 16 Jul 80.)
- 16 Jul **LETTER: SARACHO**
Announces Radiothon and ad book to be held 10 August 1980.

- 6 Aug **REPORT: PERSONNEL**
Reports grievance procedure concerning staff member absent without leave for eleven days.
- 15 Aug **LETTER: SLUTSKY TO SARACHO**
Asks if lease with Messick should be continued.
- 15 Aug **MINUTES**
More on tensions, adding the failure of board to support the Radiothon. Recommends a change of corporate name to Universidad Popular, with a transfer of control to the staff and students.
- 17 Aug **MINUTES**
Special meeting of board to approve rental of property of Ibert Mangin and to authorize CCC to continue to lease Sheffield property.
- 9 Sep **REPORT: PERSONNEL EVALUATION**
Argues need for jointly (staff/board) articulated statement of philosophy and purpose... therefore a retreat should be scheduled as soon as possible. In addition, monthly mandatory in-service workshops are proposed for the faculty.
- 17 Sep **MINUTES**
Board/staff "advance" is planned for 7-9 November at summer home of Charlie Kyle in Michigan City. Noted that no auditable financial records are available. Centro Latino staff (Pepe and Javier) unpaid because money held in an untouchable "building fund." Board orders a transfer of these funds (raised during the Radiothon) into the operating fund.
- 25 Oct **MINUTES**
Juanita resigns and transfers to another CUSI site. Tensions increase and emergency meetings of board and staff are scheduled. Use of Radiothon money to pay Javier and Pepe continues to concern staff; hence, Pepe and Javier still not paid. Morale low, especially for Pepe and Javier.
- NOTE:** The "advance" was held on 7-9 November. No records of this highly significant meeting or its resolutions are on file.
- 12 Nov **LETTER: SHABAT TO BAYER**
Indicates telephone call from Hutchison to Bayer on 7 November provoked response from Carolyn that staff should not talk to officials of CUSI, except through an attorney. Insists that Centro Latino is not in charge of nor does it operate UP. CUSI facilities, materials, and supplies are not to be used by any "outside" organization. Role of board is advisory only. Also, asks clarification of relationship between Carolyn and Manuel Flores and whether Manuel is employed at UP.
- 17 Nov **LETTER: BAYER TO SHABAT**
Carolyn responds.
- 10 Dec **MINUTES (Board and Consejo Provisional)**
Requires meeting with Shabat on 15 December to resolve contradictions between present and past statements of the chancellor. CUSI intends to send a substitute to watch over UP while Carolyn is on vacation.
- 10 Dec **STAFF REPORT: BAYER**
Documents failures of CUSI.

1981

- 11 Jan **MINUTES**
Provides personal analysis of meeting with Shabat and implications for future of UP. Carolyn announces her resignation. Plans to find a new director and assistant director begun.
- 23 Jan **LETTER: HUTCHISON TO SARACHO**
Refuses recommendations from Javier regarding search for director, because Javier is teaching at UP (on CUSI payroll) in addition to being executive director of Centro Latino.
- February **LETTER: FRONTANY TO SHABAT (Draft)**
Describes philosophy and history of UP and the foundations of Freirean pedagogy, recent history and abuses of CCC, and concludes with list of demands.
- 3 Mar **REPORT: TO VELASQUEZ (CCC Trustee)**
Notes use of police at UP and detrimental role being played by Ms. Lugo (who has evidently been sent earlier to replace Carolyn Bayer, at least temporarily) in fostering teacher and student discontent, notices of community events are removed from walls of UP, etc.
- 4 Mar **LETTER: KYLE TO JANE BYRNE**
Apprises mayor of issues and invites her to mass rally/meeting on 7 March.
- 5 Mar **LETTER: HUTCHISON TO FRONTANY**
Forwards applications for two positions for board review.
- 11 Mar **MEMO: TEACHERS TO BOARD**
Expresses support for "community control" which was vindicated at the 7 March meeting, but asks board to hold the course. The momentum must be maintained.
- 13 Mar **LETTER: FRONTANY TO SHABAT**
Acknowledges receipt of applications from Hutchison. They will be added to those already on file at UP. Denies that Centro Latino initiated media contacts resulting in recent publicity, but rather has been the victim of media attacks by CCC.
- 17 Mar **LETTER: LUGO TO BLUMENTHAL**
Tells teacher to leave policy and procedures to administration and to be loyal to CUSI. For response, see **MEMO: BLUMENTHAL TO LUGO, 23 Mar 81.**
- 17 Mar **LETTER: FRONTANY**
Invites community to a second mass meeting at St. Sebastian's on 21 March at noon.
- 17 Mar **LETTER: HUTCHISON TO FRONTANY**
Does not want board to select candidate for UP director's position, but merely to give "advisories" on each applicant. (See also **LETTER: SHABAT TO FRONTANY, 23 Mar 81.**)
- 18 Mar **LETTER: STANTON TO HUTCHISON**
Demands that CUSI desist from opening and retaining UP mail.
- 21 Mar **TESTIMONIALS**

31 Mar **LETTER: HUTCHISON TO STANTON**
Centro Latino should cease and desist from using name "Universidad Popular."

1 Apr **LETTER: GUY TO ROMERO**
Money found in box at 3225 Sheffield being returned to Centro Latino.

April **NOTICE**
Recruits students and community to attend Trustee meeting on 7 April.

13 Apr **LETTER: SHABAT TO FRONTANY**
Sets forth new policies concerning the "Lakeview Learning Center" and the role of Centro Latino in advising CCC regarding staff matters.

24 Apr **LETTER: SARACHO TO FRONTANY**
Saracho resigns effective 30 July 1981.

21 May **LETTER: FRONTANY TO HUTCHISON**
Documents breakdown of all agreements between CCC and UP/Centro Latino regarding selection of new staff. (See also, **LETTER: FRONTANY TO SHABAT**, 22 May 81.)

6 Jun **ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE**
Proposes merger of board and consejo into new board with Hilda Frontany as president and Jose Romero as executive director of UP.

16 Jun **LETTER: HUTCHISON TO FRONTANY**
Sends sixty-three applications for board "advisories."

30 Jun **LETTER: SARACHO TO FRONTANY**
Refers to earlier letter of resignation in which he sought past wages due (now equal to \$2,878.55).

30 Jul **MEMO: HEANEY TO BOARD**
Announces meeting (minutes of which not on file) to elect Carolyn Bayer as president, Hilda Frontany as 1st vice-president, and Jose Luis Vargas as 2nd vice-president. Also to pay Javier's wages by borrowing from the building fund, as had been ordered by the board in September of last year.

11 Sep **MINUTES**
Yolanda Jaramillo hired as director of SEA. "Universidad Popular" has now been made a trade mark (tm) of Centro Latino.

2 Oct **REPORT: ROMERO**
Proposal for ABE funds has been accepted by the Department of Education for funding through Northern Illinois University (see **MINUTES**, 9 Oct 81). Alludes to IRS problems.

7 Oct **LETTER: ROMERO TO VERI (Dean, NIU)**
Accepts transfer of salary payment from Centro Latino to NIU for one year.

13 Nov **MINUTES**
Hiring begins for UP/NIU project. Proposes review of by-laws to better reflect the emerging philosophy of worker/community ownership of the organization.

December EDUCACION LIBERADORA 2:3
Describes current program.

11 Dec MINUTES
Describes duties of board officers.

1982

8 Jan MINUTES
Agrees in principle to becoming a membership-based organization with a board comprising a third community representation, a third student representation, and a third staff representation.

February BY-LAWS (Draft of Revision)

21 May BY-LAWS (Final Revision)

12 Mar MINUTES
UP agrees to join Alternative Schools Network.

13 Apr REPORT: EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Decision to make more effective use of time by implementing a committee structure (see **MINUTES, 16 Apr 82**).

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